The Essential Shriver *Murray Kempton*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

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March 28, 1964, 35 cents

Johnson vs Poverty

Christopher Jencks

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A Second Canal —*John W. Finney*

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Can Khanh? —*The Editors*

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

LBJ Isn't JFK

★ Lovely spring is turning Washington yellow with forsythia and the time has come at last to quit disparaging Lyndon Johnson because he isn't John F. Kennedy. He isn't, and that's that. He is a powerful figure in his own right who has already got Congress to pass the biggest tax cut in history; he is giving all-out support to the most far-reaching civil rights bill in 100 years; he has proposed a "war on poverty" which – even with superlatives drained off – remains a splendid bundle of beginnings; he will try to enact Medicare, and he will do his best with foreign aid in the face of a broadly hostile Congress and a generally indifferent public.

Mr. Johnson is operating in a world where the Opposition almost seems not to want to win. We have always suspected that of Goldwater: he told the Press Club here not long ago that he had thought seriously of withdrawing after JFK's death and continued only from loyalty to his friends; something of a defeatist admission, we thought.

Republicans are no nearer picking a leader than three months ago; the NH primary was a debacle for the two leading contenders. One begins to wonder if it matters much who ultimately gets the nod; the problem is to salvage the party. Goldwater extremists have just captured the Republican Assembly in California; Gov. Rockefeller has mounting troubles in his own GOP legislature. Democratic hopes look up in the two largest states.

This is too bad in a way. The country needs a strong two-party system. There is plenty about the Administration to criticize, but nobody to do it effectively, not, at any rate, until the Republicans have straightened themselves out.

President Johnson is popular, but not too popular. His position is illustrated by the story of the thank-you note written by the little girl to her grandmother for the gift of a thimble. "Thank you, Granny," she wrote, "I like your present, but not very much." The approval of Mr. Johnson is widespread, but nobody can say how deep it is; it seems to lack both the passionate support and dislike that most leaders create in time.

As a matter of fact, this mood of muted approval may express something important within the country. Mr. Johnson elicited it in his hour-long TV interview, in which he did not make any slips, but evoked instead a feeling that was cozy, relaxed, comfortable and bored. Maybe the country wants to be bored a bit. Mr. Johnson implied that he loves everybody; that he wants to be a "prudent progressive"; favors a "better deal" and just adores free enterprise. The viewer could snap off the set and turn to more interesting things, satisfied that Mr. Johnson was probably safe and sound, precisely the feeling the President probably sought to elicit.

Is Mr. Johnson then nothing more than an intelligent Eisenhower? He is a lot more, we think. He said about the civil rights bill, for example, "I believe they [the Senate] can pass it and I believe they will pass it and I believe it is their duty to pass it, and I am going to do everything I can to get it passed."

Ike never made an affirmation like that in eight years, save perhaps about the dangers of galloping inflation.

Take 20 historians and ask them to write down adjectives that describe the typical American; then let half a dozen Johnson friends write down his predominant characteristics as they see it. There will be a close resemblance, we guess, between the lists. He is proud, sensitive, impulsive, flamboyant, sentimental, compassionate; he is a doer not a thinker, and he won't alarm people (as JFK did) with startling new notions. He is optimistic, a worrier, quick-tempered, impatient, tough, hard-driving and boastful; he is earthy as Truman, and tends to leave culture and art to his wife (who is a great asset, by the way). He is an exponent of moderation, compromise and manipulation, and on big issues, he is careful and cautious. He works 18 hours a day.

All the time he does corny things that embarrass ivory-tower intellectuals, like going around and turning the White House lights off; but how many votes do the intellectuals have? The man in the street understands the symbolism, and the businessman thinks that LBJ is somehow safer than JFK because "he isn't a spender." Well, we'll see.

Bobby Baker Inquiry

★ The most tawdry thing, by implication, that has turned up in the Johnson record in the Bobby Baker case is the $1,200 in advertising which insurance man Don B. Reynolds swore he was required to purchase on the Johnsons' family TV station in Austin, Texas, after writing a $100,000 life insurance policy on Majority Leader Johnson five years ago. That the advertising was purchased there is no doubt; that it was required as part of the deal is denied in a sworn affidavit by White House aide Walter Jenkins. One assumes that Mr. Johnson knew nothing about it. The Democratic-dominated Senate investigating committee under Senator Jordan never permitted Mr. Jenkins to take the stand; a sad mistake, we think. Naturally enough, Republicans have called the inquiry a "whitewash," and this reporter, like nearly everyone who watched the hearings, came away with a feeling that the committee was trying to protect other Senators and was not revealing things it knew.

In the course of the hearing, derogatory information from the service record of Reynolds was leaked by somebody from the Pentagon to columnist Drew Pearson. There is hardly a reporter in Washington who doesn't think the leak was arranged with the Administration. Millions of Americans have service records, and they are supposed to be as private and personal as income tax returns. Nobody has explained how the leak occurred. It will be a sorry day if Americans come to feel that such documents can be used against them and if they lose confidence in the good faith of their government.

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Can Khanh?

Since the Administration does not seem to be able to think of anything better to do in Vietnam, it has decided to do more of the same. At this point, the situation begins to resemble an old movie in which the camera speeds up the action to produce a ludicrous effect. Episodes follow one another so fast that it becomes necessary to recapitulate. Last November, no Nhus were good News, and all bets were on Big Minh; now however, with what in happier circumstances might be regarded as merely due recognition of French cultural influence, the question seems to be: can Khanh? If he can't, it won't be the fault of Washington. The White House last week announced that the US will back up the new Vietnamese leader with "substantial increases" in economic aid, as well as additional military aid. But let no one think that such aid has been anything other than substantial in the past. In the last decade, this country has put nearly $3 billion into Vietnam, two-thirds of it for economic assistance and almost all of it in the form of outright grants. That $3 billion figure may take on more meaning if we are reminded that it is only a little less than half of the total of grants and loans made by the US during the same decade to all of the 25 countries of Latin America.

There is a bit of irony in the satisfaction which the Administration has officially expressed over General Khanh's new intention to "put into effect a national mobilization plan that will provide conditions and terms of service in appropriate jobs for all able-bodied South Vietnamese between certain ages." If the same intention had been voiced by the Communists in the North, many an indignant column would be written in the American press about the evils of a police state.

At the end of January, some days after Secretary Rusk had announced that the then new measures of the South Vietnamese government would bear good fruit, that government was toppled by the regime of General Khanh. Toward the end of last month, the Secretary of State shot down with great dispatch a balloon sent aloft in a Presidential speech to the effect that it might be necessary to attack North Vietnam; Mr. Rusk said with unaccustomed bluntness that the problem was in South Vietnam, and that "no miracle in the North" could eliminate it. This month, Secretary McNamara and the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff have risked their lives in South Vietnam in order to put on a display of handshaking and head patting that was manifestly intended to bolster Khanh among his own people. One protecting helicopter crashed, killing two American soldiers on

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board. An eyewitness remarked that security broke down to the point where anyone could have "put a grenade into Mr. McNamara's pocket." Mr. McNamara attempted to explain his and General Taylor's extraordinary mission by saying that "we went in order to emphasize that Khanh has our full support." Alas, it is not the full support of the Americans that General Khanh needs so much as the full support of the South Vietnamese. And although Mr. McNamara sought to encourage and astonish peasants by shouting "Vietnam, a thousand years!" there may be yet another *coup*, and then another.

What does it all mean? A reasonable series of guesses would be that the dependence of the insurgents of South Vietnam on North Vietnam is still exaggerated; that they manage to live off the country and to fight mostly with arms that they capture from the government forces; that therefore the bombing of Hanoi or taking other military measures against the North might not have much immediate effect on the war in the South; that the risks of such action so clearly outweigh the possible gains and so rouse some of our allies, that Mr. Rusk felt obliged to turn aside from the idea; and that hoping against hope, the US has decided to keep General Khanh propped up at almost any cost. In spite of Mr. McNamara's assurance of last November and again this January that American personnel could be withdrawn – at least by 1965 – the American presence may in fact have to be enlarged. The US commitment deepens month by month, with no end in sight for a war which Khanh himself admits is likely to continue for another decade or longer.

Convertible Coup

There is an alternative, though it might not be thought politically prudent to mention it aloud before the November election. It is the alternative suggested by a Republican newspaper editor and publisher, John S. Knight: "Recognize the impossibility of a military victory and negotiate for whatever political advantages can be found in a stalemate."

What Went Wrong?

President Johnson's political genius deserted him last week in his handling of the dispute with Panama. While President de Gaulle was winning plaudits in Mexico for eloquent statesmanship, Mr. Johnson was sabotaging a face-saving formula worked out by a top-level mediating team of the Organization of American States for resuming diplomatic relations between Panama and the United States. Finally, the mediators gave up in disgust, and declared angrily that their efforts had been "frustrated."

The President chose not only to say the wrong thing, but to say it at the wrong place and time – during his ceremonial speech in the Pan American Union rededicating the US to the "partnership of the hemisphere" first proclaimed by President Kennedy three years ago. Toward the end of his talk, Mr. Johnson departed from his text to say that he still had no "genuine meeting of the minds" with President Roberto Chiari. He cited Panamanian "press reports" to show that the Panamanian government was incorrectly interpreting the agreement reached by the OAS mediators as an American commitment to "rewrite and revise" the 1903 Panama Canal treaty.

These rather curt remarks placed in discard the solution announced earlier by the five-nation mediating team – composed of the ambassadors of Brazil, Mexico, Costa Rica, Paraguay and Uruguay. The previous evening, they had informed a special press conference that both sides had agreed to resume diplomatic relations and "to seek prompt elimination of the causes of conflict relative to the Panama Canal." "Discussions and negotiations" leading to "agreement" were, they went on to say, to be "without limitations or pre-conditions of any kind."

The Committee had worked almost day and night for two weeks. It had hoped to create the best possible atmosphere for the President's reaffirmation of the Alliance for Progress. And the Latin American ambas-

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sadors maintain that Assistant Secretary of State Thomas Mann told them they could go ahead with the announcement.

Within four hours of the Committee's public declaration, White House officials were denying that the US was a partner to the agreement. They subsequently explained that there had been some "misunderstanding," that both President Johnson and Mr. Mann had only approved it "in principle," that they wanted to be sure how Panama would interpret the agreement before making it public. They reported that inflammatory press and radio reports reached President Johnson to the effect that both Panama's Ambassador in Washington, Miguel Moreno, Jr., and Panamanian Foreign Minister Galileo Solis in Panama were saying that the United States had agreed to scrap the 1903 treaty. Thereupon, Mr. Johnson decided to renounce the work of the OAS peacemakers.

But is the President of the United States basing his foreign policy on a foreign press which – particularly since the riots and bloodshed along the Canal Zone borders on January 9-10 – is notorious for its "nationalist" exaggeration? Both Foreign Minister Solis and Ambassador Moreno subsequently denied making the alleged declarations.

Panama is facing national elections on May 10, and President Chiari cannot succeed himself. In the meantime he is tied to his January pledge that he will "never" resume diplomatic relations with the United States without a formal pledge to renegotiate the Canal treaty. The problem is an old one in diplomacy – to find a formula that requires neither party to swallow its words. President Johnson and his advisers have known that no matter what formula is worked out now, Panamanian politicians will interpret it to meet the needs of their election campaign. It is most unfortunate that President Johnson should seem equally determined to protect his own election hopes at any cost.

Still Separate, Unequal

After an exhaustive survey of Arkansas schools, the Arkansas Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights has reported that they are not desegregated and, more startling, that some disparities between "white schools" and "Negro schools" have been getting greater.

In the first semester of the 1963-64 school year, there was some desegregation in 13 of the 415 state school districts, of which 228 have Negro children. Of the 13 only five have more than token Negro enrollment in white schools, all in areas with very small Negro populations. Fewer than one percent of the state's 112,012 Negro children attend school with white students. By no significant measure are the separate schools equal. The heart of the Civil Rights Advisory Committee's Report was a factor-by-factor comparison of facilities in the two systems. The results were that Negro schools are substantially inferior.

Arkansas high schools not accredited by the North Central Association of Secondary Schools receive A, B or C ratings from the Arkansas Department of Education, or are unrated. By the most recent figures available to the Committee, 72 percent of the state's 389 white high schools had North Central or A ratings. Thirty-six percent of the 122 Negro high schools had comparable superior ratings. At the other end of the scale, only one white high school was unaccredited; 20 Negro high schools, or 16 percent of the total, did not meet even minimal standards.

The trend in accreditation is for the divergence to increase. There has been improvement in the education of whites, but Negro schools are deteriorating, both absolutely and in relation to the total state system.

White teachers are paid from $147 to $1,600 per year more than their Negro counterparts at respective levels of academic training. In spite of their lower pay, Negro teachers have a 25 percent higher pupil-load than whites, consistent with their greater incidence of one- and two-room schools.

Vice Presidential Vacancy

At his March 7 press conference, the President was rather insistently questioned on the tangled and urgent problems of Presidential succession and Presidential disability, but he took disingenuous refuge in the assertion that a solution requires a Constitutional Amendment, and that since the President has no formal role to play in the amending process, he ought not to intrude himself.

But the President, eight days later, though he still showed no sense of urgency, had second thoughts. During his interview on television, Mr. Johnson indicated, and for the first time, that there is an option to amending the Constitution. He referred to the possibility of Congress adopting "necessary legislation" fixing the procedure for filling a Vice Presidential vacancy.

This is a welcome advance. As this journal has tried to point out against the nearly impenetrable clamor of the contrary assertion, it is not true that reform of the law of Presidential succession requires a Constitutional amendment. It simply happens that there is an unanalyzed assumption abroad to this effect. Actually, the most widely discussed proposals now before the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee, headed by Mr. Bayh, could be enacted by simple statute subject to Presidential approval.

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Home in Texas

Austin, Texas

Last September 23, William Lowry of Dallas, who has a job in a shoe store, and Mrs. Rosalie Urquizo of San Antonio, a seamstress, told the Subversive Activities Control Board in Washington that they had been FBI informers in the Communist Party in Texas; Lowry since 1945 and Mrs. Urquizo since 1961. They said that John Stanford Jr., a San Antonio bookkeeper, was executive secretary of the Texas Communist Party.

Lowry disclosed that he was paid about $2,600 a year plus expenses by the FBI in the last three years. Mrs. Urquizo said she had attended four or five Communist Party meetings with Stanford, and that Stanford gave her a document outlining the purpose of the Party in Texas and a list of questions and answers concerning Marxism and how to study *The Worker*. The FBI paid her $40 or $50 a month plus expenses.

The US Department of Justice thereupon ordered Mr. Stanford to register under the McCarran Act as a Communist. Mr. Stanford refused, saying the government could not tell him what political beliefs he may hold. He neither denied nor affirmed membership in the Party.

Then, on December 27, a representative of the Attorney General of Texas, along with local law enforcement agencies took in hand a search warrant signed by District Judge Solomon Casseb, appeared at Stanford's door in San Antonio, and searched his home, taking from it 10 boxes of books, papers and other things. Mr. V. Murray Jordan, a youthful assistant Attorney General who got his pre-law degree in finance and graduated from law school in 1959, decided which books and papers were Communist propaganda and which were not; which were to be seized and which left behind. Stanford said that "the raiders" took pro-Castro books and left him the anti-Castro ones, took his mailing list – 11 file drawers with 10,000 names – and many personal papers including his marriage license, car title, house papers, hospitalization insurance and correspondence with an attorney. The *San Antonio Express* reported that the FBI, "behind closed doors," was making photostatic copies of records seized. These "records" included writings of Lenin, Marx, Earl Browder, Ché Guevara and speeches by Castro; also writings by I. F. Stone, A. J. Muste, Hugo L. Black, Linus Pauling, C. Wright Mills, Jean Paul Sartre, Eric Fromm, Hans Bethé – and excerpts from Pope Pius XXIII's *Pacem in Terris*.

This search and seizure was designed to gather evidence to prove that Stanford violated the Texas law requiring Communists to register with the state on penalty of a $10,000 fine, and another law passed in 1954 outlawing the Communist Party and prohibiting membership in it on pain of a $20,000 fine or 20 years in prison or both.

At the request of the American Civil Liberties Union, attorney Maury Maverick Jr. undertook the legal defense of Stanford. A Magistrate's hearing, a rare procedure, was conducted before Judge Casseb, Maverick arguing that the seizure had been unconstitutional and that Stanford should be given back his property.

Judge Casseb denied Mr. Maverick's motion and the matter has now been taken direct to the Supreme Court. "In this singular case," Mr. Maverick wrote in his petition, "the state of Texas has asserted the power to lay siege to a man's home for five hours; rummage freely through his books, records and papers; seize and remove publications capriciously deemed to be 'pro-Communist'; and seize and remove his private papers. . . . There are nations where possession or sale of publications unpalatable to the government is deemed critical. The United States is not one of those nations."

RONNIE DUGGER

Haves and Have-Nots

Belief is growing among the so-called less-developed nations that their trade problems are not going to be solved merely by discussions with the industrial countries about tariffs. Therefore, although on May 4 the 61 member and associate member nations of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) are to begin negotiations on the Kennedy Round of worldwide tariff reductions, representatives of 122 nations gathered in Geneva on March 23 will also discuss international trade, in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTD).

The less-developed countries proposed and actively organized the UNCTD meeting, despite considerable lack of interest, and some opposition, by the United States and Western Europe. The major conversation piece of the UNCTD is a report by the Secretary-General of the conference, Argentine economist Raul Prebisch. His underlying theme is that, without positive new steps by the developed nations, the gap between the import needs of the underdeveloped nations and what they can acquire through export earnings is steadily growing. He says it could result in a trade gap of around $20 billion by 1970, or a much slower growth rate in their economies.

In order for their increasing population to have a reasonable growth in income, exports need to rise at five to six percent per year. Instead, exports of the underdeveloped countries rose by only four percent per year in the 1950's, while the prices of the commodities that they sold on world markets have fallen relatively to the prices of the things they buy, so that their ex-

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ports buy them less and less.

Allowing for this decline in the "terms of trade," and putting aside petroleum, the actual total purchasing power of their exports rose by less than two percent per year.

According to the Prebisch report, GATT is inadequate to rectify the growing imbalance. GATT does not contain enough of the world's nations; it is unable to cope with Communist-bloc trade, because it is an organization primarily designed to negotiate on tariffs, not trade agreements; it is unable to separate the special problems of underdeveloped nations from trade among the prosperous nations. World agreements on stabilizing commodity prices are negotiated outside the GATT. Its most important principle is the "most favored-nation" clause, which requires that concessions granted by one nation to another nation must be made available to all other member nations equally. The report argues that this is not a suitable principle for trade involving countries of vastly unequal economic strength, however valid it may be for trade among the strong. In sum, the Prebisch report recommends the creation of a world trade organization, which could accommodate the less-developed nations' difficulties, or at least a standing committee in the United Nations which would be able to act as a watchdog on trade. For the United States, consideration of a new world trade organization is fraught with difficulties, especially when it is recalled that, 16 years ago, Congress coldly rejected the International Trade Organization which emerged from the previous world conference on trade.

The positive steps recommended by the Prebisch report are bound to be extremely controversial. In order to stimulate exports from the developing nations, it is suggested that the developed nations should grant preferences to the manufactured exports of the developing nations, without reciprocal concessions. The preferences would be granted for 10 years in the case of any particular industry, to give the developing nations a period of grace in order to develop and expand their industries to a competitive scale by world market standards. This goes far beyond the usual, and generally accepted, argument for "infant-industry" tariffs that are placed on imports, to protect developing nations in trying to build up large-scale domestic production.

Preferential arrangements between the less-developed nations are also proposed, so that the small countries can trade with each other and be protected from the competition of the industrial giants, and can realize some of the advantages of large markets. Further expansion of international commodity agreements, to stabilize prices and also quantities traded, are urged.

Finally, under the heading of "compensatory financing," there comes the broad suggestion that developed nations should work out ways that will automatically compensate the developing nations for the deterioration in their terms of trade, including, for example, low sales taxes on primary commodities, which would go into a special fund to aid developing countries.

Some of these proposals, and others in the document, may seem unpalatable. The spirit of the Prebisch report must nonetheless be recognized. The relative fall in prices of primary products in world markets has assisted consumers in the developed nations, at the same time that it has hurt the underdeveloped countries. In effect, Prebisch argues that there is taking place a steady transfer of resources, from the weak to the strong, and that what is needed is a major political decision, which would recognize that countries experiencing deterioration in their terms of trade have a claim upon additional international resources. The means is not so important; it is the goal of substantially greater transfer, back to the developing nations, which must be sought.

The developing nations must, in the long run, earn enough from their exports to pay for the capital equipment that they need, if they are to grow and to repay the growing debts which they are incurring. Foreign aid has not been sufficient to close the gap at current world levels; much of this assistance has actually been nullified by the decline in terms of trade. Prebisch – and many of the underdeveloped nations – argue that aid is no answer.

The United States position at UNCTD is likely to involve a real desire to lower restrictions on primary commodities. But the Americans will argue that traditional world trading arrangements will be adequate, provided sufficient foreign aid is forthcoming.

A wise response would be to face the Prebisch arguments squarely and to recommend that foreign aid should increasingly focus on the development of potential export industries, or import-replacing industries, which would ease the difficulties of these countries.

The United States and Western European countries have been almost completely absorbed in preparing for negotiations on reductions in tariffs through GATT, and have been hoping that substantial gains for the weaker nations will be a by-product. It is unlikely, therefore, that the United States will be able to respond grandly to the challenge of UNCTD. On the other hand, if the developing nations achieve recognition that their problems are truly structural – that sooner or later a change in the structure and pattern of world trade will be required – then they will have scored a major point. The report asks for a new philosophy concerning the role of world trade in the process of economic development. New economic philosophies come to full bloom slowly; they do not mature in the course of one conference. HM

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That New-Fangled Thing Called Voting

Washington, D. C.

That well-known sociologist, Senator Allen J. Ellender, has suggested that Negroes suffer a racial aversion to the ballot that accounts for their abstinence from the polls in the city of Washington as in the State of Louisiana. He says that "the Negroes in Washington do the same as they do in the South – they let the white folks do the voting. They let the white folks do the registering."

For the first time since 1800, the people of Washington are now registering to vote in a Presidential election. They have voted for no public officials whatever since 1872, shortly before Congress ended popular government altogether in the city. Yet, of an adult population of 512,000, just over half of it Negro, about 150,000 had registered when the books closed for the primary last week. A substantial majority of them were white. But that isn't too bad, considering.

To get a really good picture of the nation's capital, one has to study the invaluable 1960 Housing Census. The column on nonwhite occupancy does not tell very much, except that most of the people in most of the slums are Negro. But the columns on structural deterioration, on dilapidation and overcrowding show a strong inverse correlation to registration. Where people have decent houses, then, they are interested in voting.

Relatively speaking, that is. The 92 years of total disenfranchisement have left an atmosphere of passivity that will not vanish in a three-months' registration campaign. Worse, in this city of civil servants, nearly one-third of the labor force is required by the Hatch Act to refrain from political activity. The Civil Service Commission's posters, tacked up in the corridors of the government buildings, no longer begin with the words: "WARNING – Political Activity Restricted." But they still bristle with references to the Criminal Code, and the sections and subsections thereof.

Registration workers have discovered that a great many Negro civil servants identify themselves with the government and decline to vote as a matter of principle, as military officers often do. "People in DC regard themselves as part of the Establishment," a shrewd Democratic organizer, a Negro, said gloomily after some weeks of campaigning in lower middle class neighborhoods where the battle goes slowly.

If the white collar worker is hesitant to register, the blue collar worker is positively reluctant. In the rural South, from which he and his parents came, voting was a subject dangerous to mention. In any event, the family crammed into a few rented rooms, and behind in their rent, dismiss as fantasy the idea that they can have any political effect upon their own miserable destiny.

Moreover, political parties in Washington can offer few of the prizes that traditionally drew newcomers into politics. There are no jobs at ward leaders' disposal; there is no very effective intervention with the Public Assistance Division; there is no way to get the word to a police captain or a judge.

Perhaps some of the city's people are fearful of involving themselves in politics so close to the center of national power. Certainly a great many people throughout the city, in the best neighborhoods as well as in the worst, are patently reluctant to register counter to the party in power. The city held party primary elections in 1956 and 1960; the cumulative registration was three to two in the Democrats' favor. Currently the registration is running seven to two in the Democrats' favor, and the Republican chairman of the District is undoubtedly correct in ascribing the difference to a factor more powerful than the President's popularity.

Above the thicket of sociology into which Senator Ellender has led us, there stands one very ordinary and persuasive reason for a low registration. The primary is going to be a dull election. No Washington resident is yet allowed to vote for his local officials. The Republicans have only a Presidential preference to offer, and apparently none of the leading candidates is going to come into it. The Democrats are wildly divided among two or three slates struggling for control of the party, but all are running on identical platforms, so far as they have any platforms at all. There were 157 candidates for party office and three questions on the Democratic ballot in 1960, and it will probably be more incomprehensible this year.

As an example of political organization, Washington is just now the most remarkable city in the United States. The two parties, after having been hardly more than shells for two generations, are suddenly confronted with the urgent necessity of developing active and reliable membership in the 91 precincts. This primary only begins the long process of convincing the people of Washington that now, at last, they may actually exercise some measure of influence upon their government – national, not local. Perhaps the registration disappoints Senator Ellender, but it is running rather higher than most other people expected. Like most tastes, democracy seems a natural inclination only after it has been acquired.

J. W. ANDERSON

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Taking Care of Farmers, Whoever They Are

Happiness, in LBJ's Washington, is something for everyone. Seldom have so many people been offered such a variety of things as in the Administration's wheat-cotton legislation.

In December, the House passed a bill that contained a cotton program, but not a wheat program. This month, the Senate passed and sent back to the House an amended bill, authorizing both a cotton program and a wheat program. It was so devised that the Senators who are interested in cotton would be induced to vote also for the wheat proposals, and vice versa. However, to get the amended bill through the House, with Northern Democratic as well as Southern votes, the Administration is having to present a package of *three* bills. In addition to the cotton-wheat legislation, the package contains a food stamp plan, sought by the Northern Democrats; and also legislation authorizing research, estimated to cost initially between $5 and $10 million, to try to create a "clean" cigarette.

The chief feature of the cotton legislation is a subsidy to domestic textile mills. High price supports mean that a pound of domestic cotton costs 32.5 cents, compared with the world market price of 24 cents. Rather than pay the 8.5 cents difference, the industry has been turning increasingly to use of synthetics. Days (or perhaps hours) after Mr. Johnson took the oath of office in Dallas on November 22, cotton was crying to him for help. Mr. Johnson responded. On the Tuesday following the assassination, Speaker John McCormack was told by the new President to "use my name in any way you need," to get cotton legislation passed.

One of the first to be called in was New Mexico's Tom Morris, who wouldn't budge. He wanted cotton price supports lowered, for one thing. Representative Morris was contacted by 16 other members before the day was over, each asking him what he was going to do. The heat was on. The pitch: Don't let the President down the first time he asks for your help. A week later, Representative Morris and his colleagues had settled for the McIntire amendment, which gave the Secretary of Agriculture an option to cut price supports by several cents. The bill passed in early December.

It then went to the Senate. There, the chief obstacle was Allen J. Ellender (D, La.), chairman of the Senate Agriculture Committee. He didn't seem interested in any kind of new farm legislation. But the LBJ charm was turned on. In February, Senator Ellender was holding hearings and it was then that the concept of a "combination bill" came forth – a McGovern bill for wheat, and a cotton bill backed by 17 producer organizations. Senator McGovern's role in this is worthy of attention. He is a freshman and it is seldom that a freshman has his name on a major piece of legislation. He introduced his bill late last summer, when the wheat farmers were just beginning to stir.

In a referendum held last year, farmers rejected compulsory planting controls on the 1964 wheat crop. In thus defeating the Administration's plan, they listened to the advice given to them by the American Farm Bureau, which assured them that, although price supports would be reduced in the absence of planting controls, a new bill would be sure to be passed to give them assistance. It was argued by some politicians that the Farm Bureau ought to be left to impale itself on its own promises. But Senator McGovern argued that unless new wheat legislation was in fact enacted, farmers' income from the 1964 crop would be down by about $600 million compared with the previous year, as reduced government price supports would cause the average price per bushel received by the farmer to fall from about $1.85 or $1.90, to about $1.25. Senator McGovern introduced legislation whereby the farmers who agree to comply with acreage allotments get $2 a bushel on the part of their wheat grown for human consumption at home, $1.55 a bushel on what they grow for export, and $1.30 on what they grow for feed or for seed purposes. The Senator estimated that this would restore between $400 and $500 million of their lost income, and so prevent a farm-belt recession.

The wheat proposals perfectly fit the requirements of an election year. They do not require another referendum; and the 80 percent of the farmers who have in fact stayed within their allotments will benefit.

The cotton bill also has everything – a drop in price supports, Brannan-type direct bonus payments for small cotton farmers, a subsidy for the textile industry, and a possibility of more acreage for Southwestern growers whose premium crops don't need price supports and who want to sell more in the world market.

Why is this farming legislation so important to the White House? Because President Johnson must keep a firm footing in the South, the Midwest and the West – much of it "Goldwater country" not long ago. Johnson's strength in the industrial East, where John F. Kennedy was enormously popular, has yet to be tested, despite opinion polls. Should trouble on the farm alter the current inclination of rural voters to go along with Mr. Johnson and his economy pitch, it could mean serious trouble for the Democrats in November.

The Administration has another problem in those areas besides those already mentioned. There are cries of alarm from cattlemen over beef imports and their

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effect on the cattle market. The failure of the State Department to negotiate drastic import cuts with Australia and New Zealand is being attacked by members of Congress from cattle country. Sen. Roman L. Hruska (R, Neb.) proposed attaching severe meat import restrictions (beef, veal, mutton, lamb) to the Administration's wheat-cotton bill. Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D, Mont.), himself from cattle country, engineered the defeat of that amendment by a tight 46-44 vote.

Senator Mansfield, however, introduced a similar bill of his own, promising that it would have a quick hearing from Sen. Harry Flood Byrd's Finance Committee. A few months ago, such a promise would have produced a round of snickers. But things change. The same day that the Administration unveiled its three-bill package, Senator Byrd announced that he would start hearings within 48 hours on beef imports. And he did. This serves a double purpose – it quietens some of the dissatisfaction in the cattle country, and at the same time gives Administration leaders in the House an out, if an attempt is made in that body to tie meat import restrictions to the wheat-cotton bill.

The other sop or carrot in the package, apart from the tobacco research legislation, is the food stamp plan. This Administration-backed bill proposes expanding the federal food stamp plan so as to make it available to needy families throughout the country. A program has been operating on a pilot basis under a 1961 executive order, and last year it was being used by 43 communities in 22 states, at a cost of about $20 million, which was provided out of special funds made available by the Secretary of Agriculture. Under the program, needy families buy government food stamps at a discount and use them to buy food at ordinary grocery stores; the government redeems the stamps from the grocers. This month, after Northern Democrats in the House blocked the tobacco research bill in retaliation for the House Agriculture Committee tabling food stamp legislation, the committee voted 18-16 to revive the food stamp bill. The bill authorizes federal appropriations of $25 million, rising to $200 million in fiscal 1967 for a four-year total of $400 million.

A Capitol Hill veteran sums it all up by recounting Mark Twain's story about the young cowboy who lost all his wages in a poker game every pay-day. Finally, a sympathetic bartender took him aside and revealed to him that the game was crooked – marked decks, aces up their sleeves, the works. The cowboy allowed that the bartender was right, but soon the bartender saw the cowboy in the game again, and sent one of the girls over to ask if the player hadn't believed him. It seems he did. Why then, was he back in the game? "It's the only game in town," replied the cowboy.

PAUL R. WIECK

Gregory Came to Town

Pine Bluff, Arkansas

"Where else would I have to ride in the back of the bus, have a choice of the worst schools, the worst restaurants, the worst neighborhoods – and average $5,000 a week just talking about it?" Dick Gregory joked in 1962. Two years later, this son of the St. Louis slums, the first Negro comedian to make it big in the night clubs, is sandwiching club and auditorium dates between picketings, protest marches and slow time in Southern jails. He claims a total commitment: "I am ready to die," he says, and you believe him. None of the Negro leadership talks more tellingly than Gregory, and few sound more bitter. "All he's got in the world to tell him he's a man is a sign over a toilet," he says of the Southern white. "Now you're takin' away his sign. Of course, he's mad."

Gregory came to a modest Negro church in this Arkansas cotton-and-paper-mill town of 53,000 to make a speech. His audience drank of the word for two hours and 20 minutes. If they had heard it before, they had never heard it put quite this way. Gregory shares with James Baldwin the conviction that America is a stricken nation which only the Negro – through love and militancy – can save from destruction. "It's harvest time and we have got the sickle," he said. His emotional range, his timing and his heady mixture of rage and wisdom produced a magnificent speech by a man who lacks a voice of the first rank. "You had to Tom to get us where we are, Mama; to where we wouldn't have to. But you can quit Tommin' now, because you got us there. . . . Get out of the way, old folks. Get with us or get out of the way or you'll get run over." Mama said Amen, as is her custom. The collection ($118) was larger than in months.

Gregory unwound by talking into the morning with reporters and with the young civil rights militants of Pine Bluff. Then he and William W. Hansen Jr., of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, went out for a sandwich. They went from a truck stop to the county jail, after rejecting appeals by the sheriff to leave, and then to escape. "He said it was the first time he'd ever walked ahead of prisoners," Gregory recalled.

Pine Bluff is 40 percent Negro, but racism has not in recent times been wholly respectable here. It is a point of pride with some that school desegregation was being planned as early as 1957 (the idea was suspended when Governor Faubus worked up the Little Rock crisis). But in the past year, lunch counters, some restaurants, the movie theaters, the city parks and the schools have been desegregated. At first there were demonstrations conducted by the civil rights movement and disrupted

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by white bully boys. But moderation set in, and progress proved negotiable.

Gregory had, however, picked a truck stop just outside the city limits in which to seek a sandwich, and this brought the county sheriff in. Promptly, the civil rights movement had pickets outside the truck stop. In four hectic days, the pickets were roughed up; the truck stop was closed, opened and closed again; 39 of the demonstrators were arrested on complaint of the truck stop's owner; leaders of the movement were claiming that the 2,200 students at Arkansas AM&N, the Negro state college a mile or so down the road, might join the protest en masse; a shotgun was fired over the head of Reverend Ben Grinage, chairman of the movement and field-marshal of the demonstrations. A deputy sheriff jailed Grinage for allegedly running through two stop signs and for possessing a driver's license on which a state employee had misspelled Grinage's name. Grinage was held five hours, under $900 bail that he was unable to raise because he was being held incommunicado.

In Little Rock, Governor Faubus announced that state police had implemented a riot-control plan. The Governor accused white integrationists and Negroes of staging fights to "inflame the situation." Nobody but the Governor had heard of such fights, and to some in Pine Bluff the situation began to look ominously like August, 1957, when the Governor uttered the self-fulfilling prophecy that there would be violence when Central High School at Little Rock was desegregated. Tensions in Pine Bluff swiftly subsided in the face of Faubus' threatened intervention.

The students at the college named a committee instead of taking to the streets; the truck stop's operator agreed to keep his place closed for a while; the civil rights movement announced a 72-hour moratorium on demonstrations; Gregory came out of jail on bond, and went home to Chicago. He paused long enough to get a night's rest, and to hold two press conferences, at which he and Grinage discussed Faubus. "Barnett and Wallace were makin' him look like a liberal," Gregory explained.

Gregory picked up an admirer on his way out of town. "He came in and just wanted to buy something," is the way the man it happened to tells the story. "I went out, and before I knew it, I was offering to show him through the store. He said he had to catch a plane and I didn't realize until it was all over that maybe it would have been a mistake. I don't know what I expected, but I didn't expect a man who could charm bark off a tree. That fellow could make a fortune selling aluminum siding."

Gregory came back the following week for a police court trial, was convicted, posted an appeal bond, thanked the judge for common courtesy, then flew off to demonstrate elsewhere. (He came to Pine Bluff after Atlanta, where his wife had gone to jail. He has since been in Maryland, Boston and San Francisco.) He says he has not given up on Pine Bluff – he will keep coming back until he has a sandwich at that truck stop. Nobody seems to know whether Governor Faubus has given up or not.

Patrick J. Owens

Mr. Owens *is executive editor of the Pine Bluff* Commercial. *A Nieman Fellow last year, he has received the Hillman Award, and a distinguished reporting citation from the American Political Science Association.*

A Non-Partisan, Transistorized Candidate

A rumor not much bigger than a micro-miniature diode points to a promising development in the electronic data processing industry. A special task force of engineers, political scientists and primary campaign managers at the Thermodynamic Computer Corporation is completing a pilot model of the "6030 Electronic Primary Self-Adjusting Candidate (ELPSAC)." The machine is described as a "solid-state humanoid, using new magnetic memory components of greatly increased capability, high-speed recall relays, political environment sensors and practically instant reactance circuits."

ELPSAC, it is claimed, could cut primary campaign costs tremendously, by eliminating large numbers of political advisors, and poll-takers, and taking care of luncheons, coffee hours, rallies and supermarkets.

ELPSAC's adaptability in primary campaigns, according to the Thermodynamic Corporation, is due to its large storage and fast retrieval capacities. For instance, it is possible to pre-store, on a compact magnetic drum, the characteristics of at least 25,000 faces.

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When ELPSAC meets a voter, precinct worker or local political figure, its Recognition Circuit goes to work. After a few microseconds of face-scanning, it matches the real face before it with one it finds in the storage drum. Almost instantly, the Recognition Circuit flashes this information to the Biography Bank (stored on magnetic tape) and comes up with recorded facts about the voter or campaign worker.

In a recent trial, it is reported, ELPSAC went through a revolving door and caught the briefest glimpse of a subject passing the other way. In an instant, the machine followed the subject to the street, called his name, asked about his wife, six children and dog (by names), and reminded him that the subject's grandfather had voted for his party in elections going back to 1888. At the same time, ELPSAC's Servo-Greeting System went into action. Its automated hand reached out to shake the hand of the subject. Feedback circuits simultaneously measured the pressure and Sincerity Gradient of the subject's handshake – data that were promptly added to the magnetic Biography Bank for future evaluation and use.

Some mystery has surrounded ELPSAC's power supply, since it appears to have no batteries, and during tests it has operated miles from electrical outlets. It is believed that the machine is powered by its intake of coffee, small sandwiches, creamed chicken, barbecue or other campaign foods. These are quickly ionized on intake, and converted by new selenium rectifiers into usable electrical energy.

ELPSAC's most important feature is its Speech Bank, which uses a new, tiny-filament memory grid to store some 1,500 sets of remarks, answers to reporters, speeches and full-scale addresses. The machine, in a laboratory trial, was "introduced" at a simulated luncheon by a "Mr. John Doe." As it rose to speak, ELPSAC sent "John Doe's" name to its Speech Bank, along with the names of a few other people at the "head table," for positive identification of the town, county and state in which the "luncheon" was taking place. When this identification was made, ELPSAC selected a short speech (having noted that the "guests" had to get back to their offices), and began. The speech named and greeted (by first names) others at the "head table," and reminded the audience that "my great-great-grandfather was warmly and hospitably received in this town in 1862, as he was on his way to Manassas." ELPSAC then listed a number of local problems (highway potholes, cedar tree rust, exorbitant school janitor salaries) which would be tackled immediately after the election.

Following this experimental test of its Speech Bank, ELPSAC kissed six babies in a nearby supermarket. For this purpose it used sanitary, disposable lips.

Irvin Shapiro

The Essential Sargent Shriver

"You Know More About This Than I Do"

Sargent Shriver chose the Farmers Union convention in St. Paul as the stage from which to blow his first bugle in the war against poverty.

It seemed a natural selection for a militant visionary. There are few places left to seek the embers of evangelical populism except in the vaults of the Farmers Union. And yet, Shriver's words were unexpectedly prosaic. His prepared speech used incense for no altar except the taxpayer's dollar, incantation for no angel except individual initiative, exorcism for no devil except the boondoggle. Nothing could have been imagined less in key with his audience. Farmers Union members are sometimes tough-minded and sometimes tender-minded; but in neither phase can they be said to regard the public treasury as there for any purpose but to be taken.

Near the close, Shriver changed his key enough to reward their patience through his homilies by falling back on the missionary vision he is used to conjuring up for his Peace Corps recruits. He needed nothing fresher than that to warm the Farmers Union; and, what may have been more to his purpose, his preliminaries about fiscal responsibility were all of his remarks that the press was likely to put on the wires. He could touch the Farmers Union with his commitment and still be assured that Harry Byrd would pick up his morning paper and have the comfort of reading as quotations from that absolute heretic, that commander of the war on poverty, litanies to budgetary prudence he had despaired of ever hearing again from a federal official.

Sargent Shriver then is a man who, at one and the same moment, manages to remind the dedicated that they can achieve the American vision only by intense personal sacrifice and to assure the indifferent that the American vision is theirs on a payment plan so easy that they will barely feel it. For the last three years, we have grown so used to seeing him bounce about social deserts as though they were Yale reunions that it is hard to think of him as anything but simple; yet there is a subtlety here somewhere that is entirely confounding.

The simple-minded exterior is, one suspects, an entirely natural part of the complex. When he is tired, Shriver seems to give way to childish innocence the way

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other men, tired, give way to whisky or women.

He was particularly tired when the Air Force flew him to the Farmers Union and back to Washington last week. The poverty program had been put together in just five weeks and its construction consumed him in arbitrating the appeals of various experts on the subject who were in that intense, voluble and occasionally cantankerous condition to be expected from men to whom no one in authority has ever listened before.

"I've never known anyone as open to ideas as Shriver is," says Deputy Undersecretary of Agriculture James Sundquist, a survivor of this ordeal. "If a man came in with an idea, he would seem to accept it right away and, if you objected, Sarge would say 'What's wrong with it?' and the burden of proof would be on the one who objected instead of the one who suggested the idea."

But in the end Shriver settled for a modest program neatly in tandem with the established wisdom of the federal departments. He was so agreeable and free from imperialistic greed that no one seems to have noticed that his real achievement in those few weeks had been to lift his agency from a vaguely-projected $500 million to a precisely-itemized $962 million budget.

A Headline

Released from those cares, Shriver's trip home from St. Paul was a continual innocent brattle which seemed as refreshing to him as a nap. He read the Washington *Star's* headline about helping "the poor." "When," said Sargent Shriver, "did the poor ever get in a headline before?"

He turned to the inside pages; there was a picture of Lyndon Johnson on television with his hands held out to the poor in spirit. Shriver studied it. "Don't you think" – he ran his finger over the angle of the head – "Don't you see something of Roosevelt there?" One saw only a man showing his cuffs in an entirely sincere demonstration that no card was concealed anywhere, and felt achingly one's own incapacity, from mere failure of innocence and illusion, ever to improve the lot of man.

Shriver had to go the next day to present the poverty program to the Labor and Education Committee of the House of Representatives. He had carried Wilson McCarthy, his legislative liaison, along to St. Paul to discuss strategy. McCarthy reported that the Republicans had offered no noticeable reaction to the President's poverty message; he wondered if it might not turn out a friendly session. Now Shriver had managed all day never to utter a public word about the war on poverty without making it sound like the most significant exercise in budget-cutting since the Coolidge Administration. The adult in him had entirely disarmed the Republicans in advance; the child in him longed to think them bristling with weapons and passionate for his flesh.

"Wait till I show them the list of businessmen who've helped us with this program," he said. "But I'll be bloody; I'll be a punching bag by three o'clock tomorrow."

Shriver happens to be a lobbyist who goes before Otto Passman and gets not just almost as much as he wants but almost as much as he asks for the Peace Corps. He is the only administrator of a foreign-aid program who can handle Passman, and a man of those parts could hardly be afraid of the House Labor Committee.

Of course, when you read the record of Shriver's prodigies with Passman, it is possible to dismiss them as the product of mere calculated humility: Passman bullies and Shriver palliates and emerges at the end, bowed but with purse intact. The impression is that Passman will give Shriver whatever he wants so long as Shriver will let Passman punch him around. The consequent critical judgment on Shriver's performance is that it is effective but hardly inspiring. It is a surprise, after that, to hear that Shriver is the only one of the foreign-aid administrators for whose muscle Passman has genuine respect. For Shriver sits politely, and then at night he will call up some power figure from Passman's district and the next morning Passman is unexpectedly slapped on the back of the head.

Public men often develop a key sentence that shows up again and again rather like a nervous tic and which, being equally unconscious, may be taken as fundamental to their view of affairs. Nelson Rockefeller, as an instance, cannot talk more than 15 minutes without saying that there is no problem which does not have a solution. Sargent Shriver's tic sentence runs something like, "I'm sure you know more about this subject than I do, so you probably know already that such-and-such hundreds of thousands of farm families have an income of such-and-such hundreds of dollars a year."

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That inflection of self-deprecation is habitual enough in Shriver to be worth accepting as entirely genuine; yet it lodges side by side with something else startlingly cocksure.

Shriver has just finished five weeks' accelerated education in the problem of the poor, a neglected subject in our social studies. Yet, when you ask him what he knows about poverty that he didn't know last month, he will answer:

"Very little. Most of what's in the urban program is stuff that Eunice and I were working on in Chicago 10 years ago. When I was president of the Board of Education, I was trying to get vocational schools very like the one in this program."

Shriver is the kind of man who proudly serves on his local Board of Education. He has never been any other sort of man. His sermons on the value of local initiative and small, intimate projects for social change have a special tactical value in engagements with Republicans. But their true significance is that they define his outlook, which is unique in our national politics. Shriver may be the first man ever seriously mentioned for Vice President of the United States whose temperament never distracts him from what are essentially problems of local government. This, in fact, is the weakness most often suggested by critics who have tried to assay his national political potential; they cannot imagine him engaging a cosmic issue.

The Praetorian Guard

One assumes that Shriver would like to be Vice President; Robert Kennedy must be the only Democrat generally indifferent to this prospect for himself. The office, being empty, can only be filled by personal illusions. Vice President Johnson hurled himself into the space program; caught in a rut, he told himself he was reaching for the stars. Vice President Nixon went visiting heads of state; it was a way to play at being the head of a state.

"Whoever is Vice President," says Shriver, without ever suggesting or perhaps even thinking that the subject could be himself, "ought to occupy himself with the things I'm doing. The Peace Corps and the poverty program would be enough to occupy anybody's time. Just think, when the Vice President traveled abroad, he'd be seeing his Peace Corps volunteers everywhere he went. What was it the Roman emperors had – the Praetorian Guard?"

Shriver's illusion that he knows every one of the Peace Corps' 1,000 volunteers is the local government mind grasping at the image of a community where everyone knows everyone else. He does not, one suspects, have the gift of tribal intimacy which his brother-in-law, the Attorney-General, has; he depends instead on a community sense. When he talks about poverty, his language runs at once to images of small compass: "America is a club and the poor can't get into the club."

The local government mind, when it is fortunate enough to have a manageable community, draws its satisfaction from maintaining the public order and seeing children grow up and go off on their own. It can never be a general success; that is not its aspiration. The achievement of Shriver's Peace Corps which so startles Washington is really only the sum of a number of small individual successes and the avoidance of general failure.

Mr. Johnson was fortunate to come upon Shriver, because Shriver's mind is more comfortable with small ventures than vast concepts and will therefore ask no more of Congress than Congress is ready to give. The President can get the credit and save the cash too. The good Lord has found him a director for his poverty program who is by nature so sure that small particular successes are an absolute good as to be safe from that frustration at general failure which sends bureaucrats to war with Congress.

The next day, Shriver carried the program to the great swamp of the House Education and Labor Committee over which Adam Powell casts his phosphorescent gleam. There was nothing for the Republicans to engage; their only doubt and fear seemed to be that Sargent Shriver might not live forever. The Southerners are rather anxious to do his bidding too; the program would seem to have so solid a Democratic vote that the Administration has no real need for substantial, Republican support. There developed the suspicion that Mr. Johnson would rather like to see the Republicans line up against the poor and take the consequences next November. Powell seemed to be working unusually hard to insult the minority side, in the hope that mere pique might drive them into that opposition to which ideological difference was too feeble to draw them. But every time Powell would do his party duty and insult a Republican, Shriver would do his social duty and treat the affronted enemy with particular grace and courtesy.

What chance there was of partisan rancor in Shriver's presence vanished when Powell gave the floor to Congressman William H. Ayres of Ohio, the second-ranking Republican.

"First of all," said Ayres to Shriver, "I want to thank you because, as a poor boy, you let me have space in the Merchandise Mart and I'm still grateful for that."

Ayres had reminded us again of what a complicated piece of good Sargent Shriver really is. He sits there gentle as a dove, and who could believe that this was the only man in the whole congregation Joseph P. Kennedy trusted to collect his rents?

MURRAY KEMPTON

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Johnson vs Poverty

by Christopher Jencks

After three months of Byzantine in-fighting, the Johnson Administration has tentatively agreed on both a strategy for attacking poverty and an administrative system for managing the proposed war. These agreements, embodied in the Economic Opportunity bill sent to Congress March 16, are not likely to win unqualified Congressional approval. The Administration will be lucky to get anything like the proposed bill enacted in this session. Nevertheless, the thinking which went into shaping both the strategy and the administrative machinery is likely to influence whatever legislation is ultimately passed.

The present poverty program is mainly an extension and amplification of policies established under previous Administrations. The chief novelties are in the name and in the administrative form.

The importance of a new name should not be dismissed. Up to 1963, America talked about the "underprivileged," the "deprived," the "disadvantaged," the "discriminated against," and about those with "low incomes" in "depressed areas." The words deliberately muted the harshness of the suffering involved, and connected simple economic privation with a multitude of educational, social and cultural problems. These problems seemed so intractable that most people, however altruistic their motives, tended to conclude that they were virtually insoluble.

There could, however, be a society in which nobody suffered from inadequate food, housing, clothing and medical care – a society in which nobody was just plain "poor."

Nevertheless, despite the new name, the most conspicuous fact about the program submitted to Congress last week is that it consists almost entirely of old programs aimed at traditional objectives: the elimination not of poverty but of ignorance, incompetence and so forth. The problem may have been redefined, but the solutions have not. Each department had programs in operation, and other proposals before Congress, which were in its view ideally suited to the President's proposed war on poverty.

President Kennedy was murdered just after taking the decision to make a major issue out of poverty in 1964. His successor chose to follow through. Requests for $500 million for new programs related to poverty were repeated from the previous budget, and an additional $500 million was set aside for this purpose. (All these proposals have now been lumped together under Sargent Shriver's general aegis, which accounts for the $1 billion requested for his new Office.)

With poverty tagged as the only area of government expansion for 1964, a struggle developed between the Departments of Labor and of Health, Education and Welfare for control of the operation. Labor wanted the major emphasis placed on creating new jobs and training people for them. It already had an Office of Manpower, Automation and Training which ran a large program of training and retraining. It had also persuaded the Senate (but not the House Rules Committee) to pass the Youth Employment Opportunities bill. This bill, sponsored by Senator Humphrey, would establish a 15,000 man Youth Conservation Corps to put unemployed adolescents to work in National Parks and Forests. The bill would also have created a Home Town Youth Corps to employ adolescents in hospitals, playgrounds, libraries and parks.

HEW's approach to the problems of the poor was somewhat different. The Office of Education had already requested authority in the Omnibus Education bill to conduct a number of special projects, including a work-study program to help poor students earn enough to continue their education. Under the Social Security Act, the Welfare Division had authority to run demonstration projects aimed at getting families off relief and putting at least one member of the family to work in a regular, decently paid job. In addition, the Welfare Division had a newly organized Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, which was putting up the money for the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency. That committee, run by the Attorney General and his adjutant, David Hackett, has joined with the Ford Foundation in sponsoring "community action" programs around the country. These programs are based on the assumption that existing government agencies are unwilling and unable to cope with the problems they were supposed to solve. This is partly because of political stalemates, partly because of bureaucratic rigidities. The "solution," according to the advocates of community action, is to establish a new "community action agency" which drafts a new plan for dealing with community problems (be they delinquency, unemployment, poverty or a

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combination of all these). This agency then attracts major financial support from outside the community, and uses this money to bring about more cooperation among existing agencies and individuals.

Old Army Bases

At this point in the narrative a word of caution is needed. The in-fighting about poverty was all conducted in secret. No two participants have chosen to tell the same story, and the most reliable witnesses have refused to talk at all. What follows is, therefore, only a first approximation of the facts.

According to most reports, the White House had very little confidence in either the Department of Labor or the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. HEW is riddled with incompetents, protected both by civil service regulations and by the professional exclusiveness of the doctors in the Public Health Service, the educators in the Office of Education, and the social workers in the Welfare Division. The Labor Department has suffered less from professional problems, more from personal jockeying for high level positions.

In any event, President Johnson appears to have decided that the poverty program would fare better if removed from both departments and given primarily to a new agency headed by a new man – Sargent Shriver. This decision, made nearly two months ago, did not answer all questions, however. There was still the question what the new office ought to do. For the next six weeks inter-agency squabbling raged unchecked. On several occasions Shriver thought he had what was an acceptable program, and journalists were told that it would be sent to Congress in a few days, only to discover at Cabinet meetings that one or more Department Secretaries were still unreconciled to his plans.

In the course of this bickering, both men and ideas rose in favor and then fell by the wayside. Early in the struggle Shriver planned to place much of the emphasis on having the military turn old army bases into training camps. These were to teach the three R's and vocational skills, mainly to volunteers rejected by the Selective Service. This scheme was attacked by liberals, especially Labor Secretary Willard Wirtz and Senator Hubert Humphrey. Neither was a disinterested party. Humphrey had sponsored the Youth Conservation Corps, which the proposed camps would in effect have supplanted, and Wirtz was to have administered it. After some dissension, the military side of the camps was played down, and it was agreed to include the YCC idea, with half the camps assigning volunteers to do conservation work along with vocational training. The other camps will still emphasize training, not work.

But this was not the end of the fight. The Labor Department had originally planned to administer the YCC program with its 15,000 volunteers. Now the proposed "Job Corps" will enroll 100,000 volunteers. A lot of careers rode on the question of who would be in charge of the Corps. The men in the Labor Department knew that if Shriver were put in charge, they would not be given many jobs. In the end, however, Shriver had his way. Congress willing, the Job Corps will be administered by the new Office of Economic Opportunity which Shriver will head. $190 million has been asked to finance it for next year.

A somewhat similar squabble appears to have broken out over who should administer the community action programs, and how much money should be available for them. HEW seems to have been very interested in these schemes at an early stage, but in the end this too went into Shriver's empire, and $315 million was requested. Since the community action program is a grant-giving program, however, it requires comparatively few employees and is less of a plum. In addition, its chances of winning Congressional support are not too good. Schemes such as this, which funnel money directly from federal to local governments, bypassing the states, are unpopular with many Congressmen. This is especially true in the field of education, where many community action schemes focus. The National Education Association has traditionally supported the demand of the Council of Chief State School Officers that all federal money be channelled through the State Departments of Education and some fear it will oppose direct grants to local school systems.

The problem is further complicated by the fact that community action is virtually impossible in the South. No plan providing for integrated facilities is likely to win the necessary community support, and no plan accepting segregated facilities is likely to win Shriver's approval. But if no money is to go to the South, Southern Congressmen are unlikely to vote for the necessary funds. And difficulties may arise in rural areas. Community action was conceived in large urban centers where enormous amounts of surplus energy and highly developed public and private agencies are available. In rural areas this surplus does not exist. Politically and socially, there is often no "community" to organize. Helping rural areas may prove as difficult as winning rural votes.

The remaining sections of the Employment Opportunities bill mostly embody ideas proposed by various government departments during the Kennedy years. These sections will be administered by those departments rather than by Shriver. The former Home Town Youth Corps becomes the $150 million Work-Training program, but remains in the hands of the Labor Department. The $72 million Work-Study plan stays in the hands of the Office of Education. HEW's demonstration projects to train welfare recipients for jobs are to

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be rechristened "Family Unity through Jobs," with a $150 million request. The program remains in HEW. The Commerce Department's $25 million to encourage businessmen to create jobs for hard core unemployables remains in the Area Redevelopment Administration. The National Service Corps ("the domestic peace corps") is renamed the "Volunteers for America," and will be administered directly by Shriver. The only new idea is the $50 million "land reform" scheme to be run by the Agriculture Department, which will buy up large parcels of land, cut them up into family-size farms, and sell them at less than cost to marginal farmers who cannot scrape a living from their present small farms.

In each case, however, all funds would be appropriated to Shriver, and legal power over the program would be given to him rather than to the Secretary of the Department administering the program. In this way, hopefully, he will be able to "coordinate" all the diverse anti-poverty assaults. He would, however, delegate administrative responsibility to the Departments in question. The idea is rather similar to "community action" itself. The creation of a new agency is expected to eliminate administrative problems rather than compound them. Perhaps it will. But many community action programs have found that despite their new table of organization, the old political and professional conflicts persist. Shriver may find the same thing. At least he should have a sense, after six weeks of in-fighting at the national level, of the difficulties which community action encounters locally.

Is It Effective?

Does all this add up to an effective attack on poverty? To answer that question one must consider some of the possible alternatives.

A more obvious approach was initiated during the New Deal: direct welfare payments to those whose standard of living falls below subsistence level. The difficulty is that legislators regard such payments as a "give away." Neither Congress nor any state legislature has shown any inclination to set either social security or welfare payments high enough to support a decent life. Benefits are so low that the recipient cannot afford a balanced diet, regular medical and dental care, warm clothes, adequate housing, or the "incidental" expenses of educating his children. Payments would have to quadruple to assure every American family $60 a week and every individual $30.

A second approach to the poor, also initiated during the New Deal, is to subsidize the goods and services they need. This would mean additional low-cost housing, expanding the food stamp plan which subsidizes the grocery purchases of welfare recipients, expanding the Kerr-Mills bill which pays some of the hospital costs of the medically indigent, providing hospital insurance for the aged, and so on. The Johnson Administration has backed such measures, but Congress has been conspicuously hostile. There is little in the mood of the country at present to suggest that this hostility to "socialism" will diminish in the next few years.

Since the architects of the poverty program could not realistically hope to subsidize those with low earnings, their only alternative was to help them earn more. There is a widespread tendency, in the Administration and elsewhere, to assume this means putting the unemployed back to work. Actually, poverty and unemployment are only loosely connected. Most of the unemployed have enough savings, unemployment compensation, or other workers in their families, to keep them above the poverty line. Conversely, most poor families must blame their troubles on something other than unemployment. The fact is that only six percent of all poor families are headed by a man or woman who is seeking work and unable to find it. By comparison, half are headed by a man or woman with a job that pays less than $3,000 a year. Another 44 percent are headed by a man or woman too old, too sick, too busy with children, or too apathetic to hold a regular job.

The situation is dramatized by a statistic: there are about four million unemployed in America, but there are about seven million men and 13 million women who are earning less than $3,000 a year. Of course not all these low-paid jobs must be upgraded in order to eliminate poverty. Many are held by men or women who have no dependents, and others are held by members of families with several workers, who pool their incomes and so escape poverty. Nevertheless, it is clear that the elimination of poverty depends far more on changing the overall wage structure than on eliminating unemployment.

To win the war on poverty in a decade would require a rate of sustained growth achieved only once in recent American history. During the years 1939-44 the quantity of goods and services produced in America rose by 11 percent annually. Unemployment sank to one percent. During the years 1941-45, the purchasing power of the poorest fifth of all Americans rose by a third – equal to their gain since 1945. These gains were, however, achieved only by Draconian methods. Government deficits were higher than ever before or since. Price controls were necessary to restrain inflation, and even so prices rose seven percent annually. (The economic gains cited above take this into account, however.) Government intervened in every phase of the private economy. Shortages of men, materials and consumer goods were chronic.

The poor did well during World War II because there was an acute labor shortage and employers had no

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alternative to hiring every applicant. Employers did not welcome the necessity then, and they would not welcome it now. The poor are for the most part uneducated and unskilled. They are sick more often than other workers, have more accidents, make more mistakes, require more supervision, skip work more often, quarrel more with other workers. Before hiring such men and women most employers will do their utmost to find better qualified applicants. Their utmost usually includes offering higher wages than other employers, starting an inflationary spiral. Only when this tactic fails will employers accept the poorer workers.

Since the Johnson Administration has largely accepted the American taboo against inflationary policies, it inevitably rejected efforts to help the poor by stimulating extremely rapid economic growth. It did, of course, back the tax cut. This will take up some of the economic slack, but it will hardly begin to generate the kind of expansion needed to improve the wages of the poor substantially. That would take not only a tax cut but a rapid expansion of public investment and public expenditures. Congress has repeatedly refused to tolerate such expansion. State and local governments have done better, but not enough better. The private sector has done nothing at all. (The President's 1964 Manpower Report shows that expansion of private demand since 1957 has not created a single new job. Increases in productivity have abolished jobs, especially farm jobs, as fast as rising demand created them. *All* new jobs since 1957 have resulted from expanded employment by government and non-profit organizations, and increased government demand for private goods and services, like missiles and highways.)

Mr. Johnson proposes to allocate only $75 million of his $962 million poverty package to increasing the number of good permanent jobs open to the poor. Of this $75 million, $25 million would go to the Area Redevelopment Administration to encourage new enterprises which would hire the long-term unemployed, and $50 million to the Agriculture Department's "land reform" program.

Conservative Approach

Mr. Johnson's approach is, then, fundamentally conservative. It assumes that the poor are poor not because the economy is mismanaged but because the poor themselves have something wrong with them. They live in the wrong place and won't move. They have the wrong skills – or no skills at all – and won't enroll in training programs. They have too little education and won't go back to school. They have the wrong personality traits or bad health. They are too profligate to save when their earning power is high, and so have nothing left to supplement their inadequate relief or Social Security benefits. They are too short-sighted to use contraceptives, and wind up with unwanted children.

What has been launched is therefore not just a war on poverty but a war on the poor, aiming to change them beyond all recognition. The aim is not just to provide them with a lower-middle class standard of living, but also with the lower-middle class virtues, such as they are. Out of $962 million, $887 million is to be spent on education, training and character building.

Can such a plan succeed? Not this year or next, certainly. Nor, probably, in a decade or a generation. President Johnson has asserted that for the first time America has the means to abolish poverty. If poverty is understood in the narrow economic sense, this is true. But have we the means to abolish the attributes of the poor? Ignorance? Incompetence? Short-sightedness? Apathy? Despair? Illness? Not for $1 billion a year, and probably not for $10 billion either.

And what if the "causes" of poverty were eliminated? Suppose that every American family were headed by a healthy white male college graduate between 25 and 55, living in a large metropolitan area outside the South. In today's economy, some would still be unemployed – presumably those who had the poorest college records. Many would have to choose between poor jobs and no jobs. Those with the lowest IQ's would tend to lose their jobs through automation. Many employers would still prefer to hire one bright PhD at $20,000 a year rather than two not-so-bright BA's at $10,000 each. Viewed in this light, the problem is not just to raise the competence of the poor, but to narrow the gap between the most desirable employees and the least desirable. If this gap cannot be narrowed, the bottom fifth of the nation will remain economically expendable, as it is today. If it is expendable – if it cannot contribute significantly to the output of goods and services – then it will not be allowed much of a share in consumption.

Despite Mr. Johnson's efforts, a substantial fraction of the American people will remain unproductive. The only way to help them is to give them money or free goods and services. To do this would require a major change in the American political climate.

The poor have only two political weapons: votes and the threat of violence. Judging by recent Negro experience, the latter is more effective than the former. Congress likes to pretend that threats only stiffen its back. But recent history suggests otherwise. It is true that Negro militancy has produced the beginnings of a white counter-reformation. But without Negro militancy Congress would not have come as close as it has to action on civil rights. Nor, I suspect, would the poverty program have as good a chance as it now has. A really massive attack on poverty must, however, await similar pressures from other poor groups.

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The Brake on the Alianza

by Harvey Rosenhouse

> *"We will carry forward our Alliance for Progress in such a way that men in all lands will marvel at the power of freedom to achieve the betterment of man."*
> – LYNDON B. JOHNSON, *March 16, 1964.*

"Effrén had two children by his first woman," recalled Inés de Prieto, mother of Venezuela's quintuplets, telling a reporter about her husband. "He had eight more children by the wife he had when I met him, whom he had recently married after their sixth child was born. I, too, had five children of my own, though at the time I met Efrén, I had no man."

Efrén, 38, and Inés, 34, in separate and joint effort have brought twenty children into the world. They are still relatively young, and if their fruitful union endures they may add another half dozen children to the fast-growing population of Venezuela.

Except for the quints, a sort of fertility jackpot, the high birth rate of the Prietos is not wildly above par for the course of reproduction in all Latin American countries save Argentina and Uruguay,

Thanks to couples like the Prietos, Venezuela's population increased 43 percent in 1950-60, Mexico's increased 35 percent, Brazil's 37 percent, Costa Rica's 45 percent. At the present gallop toward congestion Costa Rica will double its population in 16 years, Venezuela in 18, Mexico and Brazil in 20. The rest of Latin America is not far behind. The United States with a birth rate higher than Europe's is not expected to double its population in less than 50 years.

In a March 1961 message to Congress, President Kennedy warned:

"In Latin America population growth is already threatening to outpace economic growth – and in some parts of the continent living standards are actually declining. In 1945 the population of our 20 sister American republics was 145 million. It is now greater than that of the United States, and by the year 2000, less than 40 years away, Latin America's population will be 592 million, compared with 312 million for the United States. Latin America will have to double its real income in the next 30 years simply to maintain already low standards of living."

Latin American birth rates have always been high, but in the past were balanced by high death rates. In recent years, however, efficient public health services aided by modern medicine and pesticides cut the death rate in half in most of Latin America. DDT helped knock out malaria in Mexico and Venezuela, and reduced its sting in other countries. Venereal disease, once epidemic, is now merely endemic. Yaws, once the scourge of Haiti, disappeared in a few months when teams of mobile medical units shot nearly one million Haitian rumps with penicillin. Everywhere in Latin America medicine and chemistry scored triumphs against ancient diseases. And this decline of the death rate, unmatched by any fall in the birth rate, is the cause of the population explosion that is now slowing to a crawl economic development in Latin America. The soaring fertility curve is *the* most serious threat to the Alliance for Progress – far more serious than Latin oligarchs' faint enthusiasm for social reform.

Privately many Johnson Administration officials are deeply concerned over Latin America's growing demographic calamity. However, the fear of arousing noisy disapproval from groups opposed to birth control in this country prevents action or even open discussion of the problem.

Some, but not all government leaders in Latin America, seem aware of the plight. To a few, a large population was always a status symbol. President Ubico of Guatemala after obtaining the 1940 census results ordered his bureau of statistics to "add one million" to the official total. Two and one-half million, the true figure, seemed too paltry.

The popular theory that many Latin American republics are "underpopulated" is palpable nonsense. All underdeveloped countries have in common an uneconomically high density of population relative to their capital resources and equipment. The generous increases in gross national product often reported by Mexico, Brazil and other Latin American countries are not impressive because they are matched – sometimes evenly matched – by rapid population growth. Latin America simply cannot absorb its mushrooming population and develop at the pace its people expect.

These are some of the effects of the population explosion on economic development:

1. Governments must earmark, at the expense of genuine economic development, huge portions of their budgets and foreign aid for largely unproductive social investment in primary education and housing, and

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supplying them with water, light and other services.

2. Runaway fertility is stocking rural Latin America with surplus, idle peasants who stream into the cities in search of jobs and a better life. The movement from farm to city increases urban unemployment. Flooding the unskilled labor market tends to lower wages and further limit consumption which is already straitjacketed by the inequitable income distribution pattern.

3. The rural influx creates new slums whose riot-prone inhabitants are a prime cause of political disturbances in some countries.

4. The population boom is outstripping Latin American food production. In many countries foreign exchange needed for capital goods imports now must be spent on importing food.

5. High fertility distorts national age structures. In most of Latin America about half the population is under 15, creating a heavy burden of dependency on the other half.

In Lima, Caracas, Rio, Bogota, Mexico City and other capitals, the overcrowding in the slums seems to defy laws of physics. In anthropologist Oscar Lewis' book, *The Children of Sanchez*, a story of Mexican slum life, Manuel Sanchez describes how they lived:

"My mother-in-law and her husband lived in one room and a kitchen on Calle Piedad No. 30. At that time all four of her children, with their families, were living with her: Delila and her baby, Faustino and his wife, Socorrito and her husband and their three children, and Paula and me.

"The room had one bed, in which Faustino and his wife slept. The rest of us slept on pieces of cardboard and blankets or rags spread on the floor. Socorrito slept with her husband and children in the small area between the bed and the wall. Paula and I spread our bedding at the foot of the bed. My sister-in-law Delila and her son slept in the corner near the kitchen. That is the way the 13 of us, five families, arranged ourselves in that little room."

To relieve slum pressures, the Alliance has spent hundreds of millions of dollars to build 200,000 houses. But the housing deficit in Latin America is estimated at 14 million units, and it increases at the rate of one million per year. To cover the yearly housing deficit alone would absorb $2 billion annually. The cities, fed by the high birth rate and rural migrants, are growing at the rate of five percent each year. To provide the additional city population with water, sewerage and electricity would cost over $300 million a year. Money to pay for all these vital needs is lacking. The sizable funds that are spent on them annually have been, in effect, diverted from investment in industrial and agricultural development.

Due to the high birth rate the populations of tropical Latin America are young. In all countries but Uruguay and Argentina, from 43 to 48 percent of the population is under 15. This compares with 23 percent for the United Kingdom, 26.7 percent for France, 29.7 percent for the USSR, and 31 percent for the United States.

With about half the total population of school age and mainly unproductive, the dependency load for families already living at a subsistence level, and for the state, is abnormally high. Under such a burden, savings are impossible and a rise in living standards, nothing but a dream.

To provide such numerous young with schools and teachers strains government exchequers and diverts funds from real economic development. And despite the huge outlays for primary education, the absolute number of adult illiterates in Latin America is still increasing, according to a United Nations report.

With the population having such a young base the number of youths for whom the emergent economies must provide jobs is much higher than in the United States or Europe. Latin American industry and services are not developing fast enough to digest the oversupply of labor. The result is unemployment and underemployment on a large scale. The latter is attested to in all Latin American cities by the hordes of lottery ticket venders, itinerant guides, porters, car washers, car watchers, supernumerary clerks in shops, street venders peddling sundries at intersections, underpaid "apprentices" in factories and plants, the big supply of dirt cheap servants, the myriad shoe shiners, newsboys, and the clusters of "palsied" beggars whining at passersby from vantage points near churches, on busy thoroughfares and highways.

A built-in feature of any young population is the somber assurance of an endless chain of high fertility cycles in the future.

The effect of high fertility on Latin American food supply has been dramatic. Per capita food production is now seven percent lower than prewar and declining steadily, according to the 1963 FAO report. Imports of certain food items will absorb a growing amount of Latin America's scarce foreign exchange in the future.

During the 1930's Latin America dominated the world grain market as a supplier. Latin America exported more grain than North America and Oceania combined; it was an important supplier of wheat and its net corn exports accounted for almost three-fourths of the world market. By 1960-61, despite a 42 percent increase in production, Latin America lost its impressive advantage and emerged as a net deficit region in grains. The reason: population had increased by 66 percent.

The root reason for continuing high birth rates in Latin America is the nearly total ignorance of birth control on the part of the masses rather than any organized resistance to it. Studies in Puerto Rico, Peru, Chile and Mexico show the poorer classes to be over-

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whelmingly in favor of small families and receptive toward birth control when they know what it is.

The Catholic Church officially frowns on all birth control methods except the unreliable "rhythm" method. But the view held by some non-Catholics that most Catholics resist birth control is open to question. The birth rates of Catholic Ireland, France and Italy – all much lower than the United States – do not indicate resistance.

There is increasing awareness of the population problem in Latin America. The Chilean public health service recently began a small program to teach birth control as a means of combating the high rate of criminal abortion. In July 1962 Bolivia, Brazil, Cuba and Mexico took part in the Cairo Conference on "Problems of Economic Development," which resolved: "Countries that suffer from the pressure of population should take appropriate legitimate measures to deal with their population problems." Surely Latin America's population problem rates a priority place on the agenda of the next Inter-American Conference.

The task of lowering Latin American birth rates is enormously complex. It requires a massive, sustained effort by national public health services, social security institutions and perhaps other government agencies to get birth control information and means to the people. Such a drive would probably need the collaboration of labor unions, peasant leagues, major political parties. Planned parenthood associations would have to be organized in the towns and cities.

Whatever birth control methods would be taught – and this would depend in each country on the character of the opposition to such a program – it is axiomatic that any method of birth control is better than none. And when people learn about one method, they acquire the motivation to learn about all other methods, too.

Unfortunately, the prospect of the United States taking the initiative in any program aimed at limiting fertility seems remote. But unless the problem of population growth is faced squarely and dealt with courageously there is no hope for social and economic progress in Latin America.

A Second Canal?

by John W. Finney

With some technical braggadocio and considerable diplomatic queasiness, the United States cautiously is building up to the most spectacular construction feat of all time: using nuclear explosives to dig a new trans-Isthmian canal. The idea is appealingly simple. Detonate a few hundred thermonuclear explosives underground, and a sea-level canal will be blasted out, connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. What's even more appealing is the estimate that the canal could be dug in one-fifth the time needed by conventional methods, and at one-quarter the expense.

There has been a belated realization, however, that the limited test ban treaty of 1963 may greatly restrict the development of nuclear explosives for such peaceful purposes. Eight months ago, when the test ban treaty was signed, the Atomic Energy Commission was not even consulted on whether the proposed treaty terms would inhibit the development of nuclear explosives. Now the Commission is besieged by Executive Branch and Congressional requests for reports on how nuclear explosives can be used to dig a ditch that would supplant the 50-year-old Panama Canal.

Once they mastered the fission and fusion processes it was inevitable that the scientists, if only in moral self-justification, would begin to dream of peaceful uses for the power they had unleashed. As early as 1949, Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Vishinsky was boasting that the Soviet Union was using nuclear explosives to raze mountains, irrigate deserts and cut through tundra. There is in fact no indication that the Soviet Union has ever used nuclear explosives for construction purposes, although it has conducted some impressive experiments with conventional explosives.

The US program, which until recently has also consisted mostly of boasting, had its origin in another canal crisis – the one in Suez in 1956. Dr. Harold Brown, then a chief scientist at the Livermore Radiation Laboratory in California and now Director of Defense Research and Engineering, began studying the possibility of using nuclear explosives to carve another canal through Israel. Out of those studies grew Project

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Plowshare which, from its birth in 1957, has lived under a cloud of suspicion and skepticism.

Unfortunately from the standpoint of salesmanship, Plowshare was given its international baptism by Dr. Edward Teller, a scientist associated in the public mind with more militaristic than peaceful objectives for the atom. At the 1958 Atoms for Peace Conference in Geneva, Dr. Teller extolled the potentialities of the peaceful uses of nuclear explosives. The normally grandfatherly Vasily S. Yemelyanov, chief Soviet delegate to the conference, promptly met with reporters in an adjoining room in the Palais des Nations, and castigated Plowshare as a political subterfuge to conceal American desires to continue testing weapons. Project Plowshare was off to a bad start, from which it almost never recovered. In 1958 emotions were running high over a test ban, and there was widespread suspicion even in this country that Plowshare was a cover for weapons testing. The AEC was still so snarled in its own secrecy that it could never make clear to the public that, while weapons technology did contribute to potential peaceful uses, the development of peaceful explosive devices themselves would contribute little if anything to weapons technology.

If there also was widespread skepticism about the worth of nuclear explosives, it was largely because in those early days the scientific advocates were imaginatively extravagant in their claims. Nuclear explosives were going to build canals, carve out new harbors, create underground reservoirs, free vast supplies of oil and gas, and tap new mineral sources. Some of the proposals were so economically absurd – such as generating power from underground explosions – and some were so ill-conceived and unnecessary – such as the proposal to build a harbor in Northern Alaska – that inevitably suspicion arose that the whole project was conceived largely to ease the scientists' conscience at having uncorked the atomic genie in the first place.

Project Sedan

Then came the test moratorium from 1958 to 1961. Just at a time when the scientists needed to do some experiments to substantiate their claims, they were prevented from conducting tests. Project Plowshare tended to recede into the obscurity of the back pages of the AEC's annual report.

Two events – one technical, the other diplomatic – came to the rescue of Plowshare. The technical development was the first major nuclear excavation experiment, called Project Sedan. On July 6, 1962, a 100-kiloton thermonuclear device (a kiloton equals 1,000 tons of TNT) was exploded 635 feet in the desert alluvium of the Nevada test site. The explosion created a crater 1,280 feet wide and 320 feet deep – dimensions that incidentally correspond closely to those planned for a sea-level canal. The crater was somewhat deeper than expected, so with the first experiment it was possible to reduce substantially the estimated explosive needs for a canal project, thereby reducing both the expected costs and anticipated radioactive fallout.

The diplomatic development was the squabble between Panama and the United States over the present canal. It had been evident for some time that, for both commercial and strategic reasons, a new canal would have to be built eventually. The present canal is becoming obsolescent. Even today there are 24 US naval vessels and 50 commercial ships that are too large to pass through the canal locks; and an additional 556 commercial vessels cannot go through fully laden. By 1980 or 1990 – exactly when, is "like reading tea leaves," according to a canal official – the ship traffic will exceed the capacity of the present canal.

The basic idea of nuclear excavation is very simple. Explode a nuclear device at the right depth, and a large hole is created, with material thrown up on the edge of the crater. Explode a row of explosives, and a ditch is made. For a trans-Isthmian canal, for example, about 300 nuclear explosives would be used, carving out a series of ditches that would then be connected.

The obvious problem is radiation. The fallout hazard, however, is essentially eliminated by the nature of the device and the way it is exploded. The explosive is a thermonuclear device that gets only a small fraction of its energy from the fission process, which is primarily responsible for producing the radioactive debris of fallout. In an underground explosion, about 90 percent of this debris becomes permanently trapped in the molten rock created beneath the floor of the crater. Most of the debris that escapes falls close to the crater, and only a small amount is blown downwind from the explosion. In the Sedan shot, for example, workers were able to return to the lip of the crater within a few weeks, and to descend safely into the crater after eight months – and this experiment was conducted with a relatively "dirty" device, with about 30 percent of its energy from the fission process.

In the past two years, considerable progress has been made in developing "clean" nuclear explosives with only a few percent of fission energy. As a result, the projected radioactive fallout has been reduced 100-fold since 1960, and it is now estimated that from a canal project the fallout would be about 100 times less than the total fallout in Nevada from all the weapons tests that have been conducted at the Nevada test site. At most, it is believed, the radioactive fallout would constitute a temporary health hazard up to a few tens of miles: an area that would obviously be evacuated during construction of a canal.

The idea of nuclear excavation of a canal got its first

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Site	Length (Miles)	Maximum Elevation of Divide (Feet)	1947 Estimated Costs for Conventional Excavation (Millions)	1960 Estimated Costs for Nuclear Excavation (Millions)
Mexico (Tehuantepec)	125	810	$13,000	$2,300
Nicaragua (Greytown-Salinas Bay)	140	760	$ 4,100	$1,900
Panama (San Blas)	37	1,000	$ 6,200	$ 620
Panama (Sasardi-Morti)	46	1,100	$ 5,132	$ 770
Colombia (Atrato-Truando)	102	950	$ 5,261	$1,200

big official impetus in 1959, when President Eisenhower directed the army to incorporate the nuclear approach in engineering studies, which had been underway since 1947, into the construction of a new sea-level canal. The general conclusion of the studies, summed up in a 1960 report to Congress, was that nuclear excavation was not only feasible but considerably cheaper than conventional construction methods. The cheapest sea-level canal dug by conventional methods would be conversion of the existing canal, at an estimated cost (in 1947) of $2.287 billion. For nuclear excavation, five possible routes were studied: the Tehuantepec route across southern Mexico; the Greytown-Salinas Bay route across Nicaragua and Costa Rica; the San Blas route, about 40 miles east of the canal zone; the Sasardi-Morti route, 110 miles east of the canal zone; and the Atrato-Truando route in northern Colombia. The 1960 report gave the cost comparisons as shown above.

Of the five routes, the San Blas one is generally ruled out for nuclear excavation, because of its closeness to the populated areas around the Canal Zone.

Because of inflation, the 1947 estimates for conventional construction undoubtedly are now too low. Advances made in the past few years on explosive devices and excavation technology make it now appear that the 1960 cost estimates of nuclear excavation are too high. For example, it now appears that the Sasardi-Morti route could be constructed for around $500 million, and that the total explosives needed could be reduced from 300 megatons to around 170 megatons (a megaton is equal to one million tons of TNT).

The 1960 report went virtually unnoticed, until a scientist happened to write a letter to a Senator, and some Panamanian students marched into the Canal Zone. Last November, Dr. Gerald W. Johnson, director of Project Plowshare at the Lawrence Radiation Laboratory, wrote a letter to Senator John O. Pastore, chairman of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, reporting that nuclear excavation of a canal seemed "even more promising" than in 1960. In the not so mysterious ways of Washington, the letter found its way into public print in mid-January, just when the Johnson Administration was arguing with Panama over the present canal. The White House reaction was to call the various departments to make a quick study of the feasibility of building a new sea-level canal with nuclear explosives. Out of this study came a high-level statement of policy presented to the Senate Commerce Committee on March 3, with so little fanfare that it was almost ignored. The joint statement by the State and Defense Departments contained this key paragraph:

"A combination of economic, political and strategic considerations makes it highly desirable to proceed with necessary studies (for building a sea-level canal). Our evaluations to date indicate that the United States should proceed expeditiously in the belief that eventual construction of a sea-level canal is desirable and in our national interest."

Nowhere in the statement was nuclear excavation specifically mentioned, but it was apparent that the Administration was quietly starting down that path, for no other method of construction appears economically feasible. This was one of the important conclusions reached in the 1960 report, which found that "a sea-level canal cannot be justified economically in the near future unless it can be built much more cheaply than under any plan so far proposed. As of now, the only hope for an economically justifiable sea-level canal appears to be by excavation through as yet unproven nuclear means."

Along with reawakening of interest in Project Plowshare has come a belated recognition within the Administration that a rather vague, ill-defined provision in the nuclear test ban treaty could restrict the development of nuclear excavation technology. This specifies that no nation shall conduct a nuclear test which "causes radioactive debris to be present outside the territorial limits of the state under whose jurisdiction or control such explosion is conducted." The wording of the provision had its origins in a proposed test ban treaty submitted by the United States in mid-1962. The difference, however, was that in the 1962 proposal the provision was meant to apply only to weapons tests; there was a separate provision covering explosions for peaceful purposes. In the evident eagerness to achieve

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a treaty after years of frustrating negotiations, the United States quickly agreed that the provision would cover all explosions – peaceful as well as military. It was not until after the treaty was submitted to the Senate that the AEC commission's staff learned of the actual wording.

During the ratification hearings, Administration officials left the impression that the treaty would not inhibit development of the peaceful applications of nuclear explosives. Within weeks after the treaty was ratified and specific experiments had to be passed upon, the Administration was obviously having second thoughts about what peaceful experiments would be permissible under the treaty. The problem was not development of explosive devices, which could be tested in completely contained underground explosions. The question was whether the United States could conduct the six to ten cratering experiments needing to be carried out before the excavation technology can reach the point where a canal project can be undertaken. The cratering experiments, by their very nature, release some radioactivity, and some of the bigger proposed experiments almost certainly would cause minute but measurable amounts of radioactivity to be carried beyond US boundaries. The normally meticulous diplomats, however, had not defined how much radioactivity would constitute "radioactive debris." Was it enough to "contaminate," as Secretary of State Rusk indicated in his testimony? Or was it "measurable" radioactivity, as others said? And, if so, what constitutes a measurable amount, since this depends largely on how much technical effort is made to detect it?

It is little wonder, therefore, that the AEC commissioners were embarrassed almost to the point of being tongue-tied when they were called up before the Congressional Atomic Energy Committee in late February, and had to acknowledge that the treaty was restricting the cratering experiments. One planned 100-kiloton explosion, in basalt, in Idaho, has been deferred indefinitely. Another very small explosion in Nevada, designed to find out what happens to the radioactivity from a cratering shot, has been postponed until next winter, partly because of the test ban treaty, and partly from a desire not to antagonize apprehensive voters in Nevada and Utah before the election.

Faced with this uncertainty, the Administration has set up an inter-agency committee to determine what experiments would be legal under the treaty. Testifying in early March before the Senate Commerce Committee, AEC chairman Glenn T. Seaborg said: "We believe that at least some of the cratering experiments necessary to develop excavation technology can be conducted without violating the treaty. At the present time, there are both technical and legal uncertainties regarding the type of experiments and projects which might be possible under the treaty. Therefore, in order to make the maximum possible progress and to resolve the technical uncertainties, we have carefully reassessed our program of large-scale experiments and have decided for the time being to concentrate on the development of nuclear explosives which produce even less radioactive debris, on small-scale excavation experiments, and on fully contained experiments for scientific and engineering purposes."

Just how far the United States can proceed under the treaty will depend in large measure upon the attitudes of other nations. It is the hope of the Administration, therefore, that as the experiments are conducted under international observation, other nations will come to appreciate the potentiality and safety of using nuclear explosives for peaceful purposes, and will permit the United States to undertake the necessary large-scale cratering experiments and eventually concur in an understanding or amendment to the treaty that would permit the canal project.

Fortunately the Administration has some time to spare for such international promotion. Contrary to the impression created by some of the early propaganda, nuclear excavation of a canal is not just around the corner. It will take five years at a minimum to develop the excavation technology, and a similar, somewhat concurrent period to develop and produce the few hundred nuclear explosives. Thus, it will be five to ten years before the United States is technically ready to undertake the canal project.

Meanwhile the United States may persuade some Central American country to throw open a corridor for nuclear excavation, and may win the concurrence of the Soviet Union. At least on the latter there is some grounds for optimism. During the treaty negotiations, Premier Khrushchev privately indicated to American officials that Soviet engineers were interested in developing peaceful uses of nuclear explosives, and that it might be possible to come to an agreement later.

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Man of Honor from Indiana

by Marquis W. Childs

For a whole generation, the sound of that Hoosier twang was synonymous with common sense in a world gone mad. It is surprising to read in the introduction by his son to this collection, that Davis' nightly five-minute broadcasts were on the air for only two-and-a-half years. He had established himself in so short a time as a national institution. Then, as his son observes, he buried his talents in the Office of War Information, for the presumed public good.

By Elmer Davis
edited by Robert Lloyd Davis
(Bobbs-Merrill, $5.95)

When he returned to the air at the end of the war for a 15-minute nightly broadcast, he confronted another America; an America in which his services in the difficult task of administering the OWI were somehow suspect. He paid a heavy penalty for doing what he had believed to be his duty in a war for the freedom that he prized above everything else. The last years of his life were melancholy years in which he came close to despair. Overwork in 1953 and continual harassment from the super-patriots brought on the first of a series of strokes that were eventually to incapacitate him.

But it was in this period that he did some of his finest writing. His book, *But We Were Born Free*, which was on the best-seller lists for a considerable period, is the essential Davis. His was an unmistakably American voice. It was more particularly an Indiana voice; the Indiana of an earlier and nonconformist day; the Indiana of Booth Tarkington, Eugene Field and Eugene Debs. This was what made him unique as America was reluctantly shoved into a position of world responsibility. For millions, he gave reassurance that the ancient faith in freedom grounded in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights was not dead.

That was the era of McCarthyism and Davis again and again reaffirmed his faith in the basic guarantees of freedom and in the ultimate good sense of the American people. If he suffered from a private sense of frustration and even despair in the gloomy apartment in Crescent Place in Washington to which he was more and more confined, his public courage never flagged. And this was often colored by the mordant humor that was a hallmark.

A generous segment of *We Were Born Free* is included in the collection. Davis quoted Archbishop (later Cardinal) Richard J. Cushing of Boston as saying that "nothing has brought the evils and methods of Communism more to the attention of the American people than his [McCarthy's] investigation." Then Davis observed: "This amounts to saying that nothing brings the danger of fire more to the attention of the public than turning in false fire alarms all over town. I cannot recall that all his 'exposures,' before he became a committee chairman, had ever got a single Communist. Since then he seems to have caught a few minnows, but no big fish."

Davis estimated that at that time perhaps 15 to 20 percent of the population were so infected by hatred, fear and suspicion as to be gullible victims of the McCarthy virus. He hoped that his estimate was not too low. These people are afraid to think, he observed, because it might turn out that what they have always thought is wrong. It hurts more to have a belief pulled than to have a tooth pulled and no intellectual Novocain is available.

The collection shows the catholicity of the interests of a young man who went from Aurora, Indiana, to become a Rhodes scholar and, unlike most such scholars, to go through the rigorous classical training required for a degree in "Greats." One of the most amusing essays is "The Imperfect Wagnerite." An opera lover devoted to *The Ring*, Davis nevertheless contrives to give Wagner's grandiloquence a salutary corrective.

He does this by translating the life of the Wagnerian gods into homely terms. Wotan's troubles, he observes, like those of most young married men, began when he became a homeowner. There is in this and in "On Being Kept by a Cat," one of the most popular of all the Davis essays, a quality of Mark Twain at his best.

One may question the selection of so much of Davis' early fiction which

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takes up a third of the book. Yet despite the fact that it seems dated today, it has the authentic Davis quality. For fifteen years he earned his living by free lancing, writing what he called "lighthearted" novels and short stories.

More than any other commentator in our time, Elmer Davis stood for courage and integrity. He was intensely serious and yet his seriousness was leavened by the humor, the penetrating irony, of an earlier America. There is no comparable figure today and we are the poorer for it.

Day Lewis: A Style of His Own

by Richard M. Elman

At twenty-five, C. Day Lewis was already something of a poetic celebrity. Published in 1929 by the Hogarth Press of Leonard and Virginia Woolf, his "Transitional Poem" received more attention than it might have otherwise deserved. But to the generation influenced by Georgian poetry which had preceded him, Day Lewis must have seemed fresh and young, fashionably

Requiem for the Living
by C. Day Lewis
(Harper and Row; $3.50)

political, tough-minded, anxious to assimilate a great many new influences. If he still had not found his own style, he had acquired a rather brash, decisive manner, posited on his putative ability to reason passionately and well. "It is certain," he began in "Transitional Poem," "we shall attain/No life till we stamp on all/Life the tetragonal/Pure symetry of brain."

Much of what Lewis wrote in that time may today seem like purest humbug – verse cooked up out of books and posing as wisdom. His Yeatsian, unmistakably undergraduate assertions about the Age, his repeated pronouncements on *mind*, *sense*, and *time*, strike one now as rather flabby abstractions, calculated to please both his restless contemporaries and his Bloomsbury elders. Even the obvious earnestness seems overdone. But the unhappiest reflection of all is that such juvenilia – although it still makes its way into some of the anthologies – yields the reader few intimations of the more solid work of the mature poet. That situation will begin to change here in the United States with the publication of *Requiem for the Living*.

The 29 lyrics and longer poem-sequences which comprise this new volume by the poet in his sixtieth year are thoroughly Georgian in tone, cultivated, very English, highly eclectic, but also quite original. Though they are not all successful, there isn't one that does not seem – at least in portions – passionately felt and honestly realized. That he now avoids philosophy with almost the same earnestness with which he had previously seemed to be courting it is only a partial explanation for these lines and longer passages of astonishing intensity, accuracy and fluency. Equally to be stressed is the quality of concern which he is now able to project through what appears to be largely personal varieties of experience, while still using many of his accustomed forms. Even in the sobering organ tones of the title poem – one of a pair which differently take on the awesome possibility of human obliteration – Day Lewis manages to find a recognizably human voice for his by-now genuine public concerns, avoiding Eliot's church rhetoric and Whitman's "yawp barbaric."

"Our sleep is fretted," he writes. "Anxious we wake, in our terrestrial room./What wastes the flesh, what ticks below the floor will/Abort all futures, desecrate the tomb."

Yet his *Requiem* is not the most interesting sequence in this collection. All its surfaces are too even, too sonorous. As if to remedy the defect, Day Lewis tries out patterns of widely varying stress and only occasional rhyme in certain of his dramatic monologues. Then, as in his translation of *The Aeneid*, the lines are formed like poetry but the movement is one of prose. In his lovely three-part "Elegy For A Woman Unknown" and in his equally impressive eleven-part "A

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Meet cartoonist-artist **Jim Crane,** whose work has been appearing in **motive** for nearly twenty years. His new book, **On Edge,** will appear later this year.

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Course In Love," modeled as they both are on classical examples, the rhyming and metrics are fastidious. He invents routines of wit, compassion and sensuosity which surpass all the limited expectations of fervent incantation and prayer as set forth in his *Requiem.* This is a poetry of digression, analysis, refinement. In the Elegy Day Lewis envisages the ravages of cancer when: "At her charmed height of summer . . . Her own flesh turned upon her . . . The gross feeder slowly/ Settled to consume her." Moments later one learns of "the lightness/Of knowing a world indifferent/To all we suffer and do. . . ." And, finally, one is enjoined to "Remember now the unspoken/Unyielding word she says—/ How in ruinous flesh,/Heroic the heart can blaze."

"A Course In Love" offers a travelogue through the deepening of sense, the mapping of a relationship, a frank articulation of passion, written with elegance and an anatomizing precision. When Day Lewis celebrates flirtation it is as if "agents/Of that great power, disguised as usual/In quite transparent innocence, dawdle across the frontier/ Disarming and casual/As tourists. . . ." He recalls the specifics of lust when:

> ". . . She is the tumid
> Ocean he rides and reaps:
> Wave upon wave she leaps
> . . . then her dissolute power
> Gulps him down, and sleeps."

There is also a charming reflection in syllabics on those "gusts of absence" when one can take "nothing in/but her who is not there/." But what is most disarming and satisfying about this difficult piece of versatility is the structuring, the progression of ideas and feelings. The language quickens as if quite oblivious to the mechanics of the versifying. Aside from a reversion to certain Audenesque images of anxiety in the second part (which is filled with rattling letter boxes and many other homey but terrifying details), he is literate without seeming literary.

Such a poetry instructs as it delights. I think it might also be stressed that its charm has little to do with the cult of "making it new." Though Day Lewis has written: "The poetic myths are dead; and the poetic image, which

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is the myth of the individual, reigns in their stead," he is not primarily concerned with the novelty of his images but with diction. His poetry is not terribly idiosyncratic; it assumes a kinship with what has come before it. And though some might find it artificial, nearly all our best poets have been artificers of that sort – even Robert Frost when he was pretending to be just "folks."

Day Lewis put the matter better than I can. In the preface to his translation of *The Aeneid* he wrote:

> "When a poet sits down to translate another poet, he always wants something of him, though he may not be fully aware of this. He is drawn to the original as a medium for his own preoccupations, or to develop his own style: he wants really to make a style of his own."

That remark reveals as much about the original poetry of C. Day Lewis as it does about his interest in translation. Few contemporary English poets have so successfully measured their commitments by their craftsmanship, or been so indebted to the work of those who came before them as this Oxford don. He has nevertheless managed to make "a style of his own."

A New Basis for Western Unity

by Harald Malmgren

Books on economic policy with sweeping, long-range vision are rare. That one should have been written by a Congressman is more than rare – it is unthinkable. Henry Reuss of Wisconsin has presented us with a surprise package of proposals for increasing economic multilateralism among nations – "a program that would provide a firm new basis for Western unity."

The Critical Decade: Economic Policy for America and the Free World
by Henry S. Reuss
(McGraw-Hill; $5.50)

Recognizing that international trade policy, international monetary policy, and foreign aid are closely intertwined in their effects upon one another, and that these in turn constrain, and are constrained by, domestic employment and price policies, Representative Reuss studies each set of problems with an eye on the others. His economic understanding is sophisticated and his arguments detailed. He points out that the new policy of raising short-term interest rates in order to relieve pressure on the balance of payments is based on very little statistical evidence concerning international short-term capital movements; he therefore criticizes the policy for its flimsy foundation. He points out also that while military alliances and nuclear testing are usually dealt with by heads of state, economic matters are handled by technical specialists – bankers, trade experts, and aid technicians. To overcome this low-level compartmentalization of economic policy, Mr. Reuss suggests the sharp political upgrading of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (which includes Western Europe, Japan, Canada, and the United States). He proposes creation of an OECD Council of Ministers of cabinet rank from each nation and a Parliamentary Conference for airing issues and educating parliamentarians in international economic matters.

On domestic economic policy, Reuss suggests that our delay in attacking poverty and unemployment for so many years does not stem from indifference but from failure to understand the problem. His case that overall lack of demand is the dominant causal factor is well-reasoned and more comprehensive than most such discussions. His boldly stated goal for the economy is 3, not 4, percent unemployment – a figure most politicians fear to mention in public.

As a political realist, Reuss asks whether building a free world community based on trade, aid, a better system

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The author of the widely acclaimed **A Different Drummer** ("A rare first novel—dynamic, imaginative, and accomplished," said the **Chicago Tribune**) has written 16 stories unified by a single theme and by several characters who reappear throughout. Mr. Kelley views his predominately Negro cast as human beings, not as Social Problems. Whether probing an absurd game played by two lonely old men or tracing the insidious growth of suspicion, DANCERS ON THE SHORE displays once again his remarkable gifts for imaginative, memorable storytelling. $3.95

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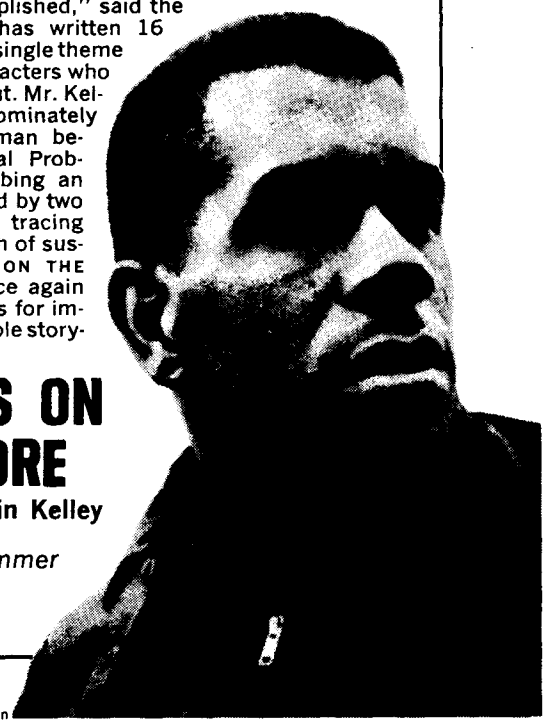

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of international payments, and full employment is possible; whether, in other words, Congress would respond to the needs as he sees them. He is doubtful. But he considers some Congressional reforms which might open the way, including not only reform of the Rules Committee but also such innovations as an Administrative Counsel to take pressure off the Legislative leaders.

This is a book written by a sound political economist, and if one disagrees with particular policies the counter-arguments will have to be thought out carefully and well, and with similar scope and vision.

FILMS

Collapse of a Dictator

The Great Dictator (Plaza)
Stray Dog (Toho)

The Chaplin revival series in New York has now presented *The Great Dictator*, and a chief trouble with it is the calendar. It first appeared in 1940 at the end of a decade of impotence and frustration in this country. We had sat watching the Reichstag fire, the Rhineland, Ethiopia, Spain, the Sudetenland, Poland, and all the while we had known that Hitler was wearing Chaplin's moustache, the resemblance was there, the blow was waiting to be struck. At last it came (even then it took courage on Chaplin's part to strike it); and we were anxious to overlook the film's faults. Those who argued, for instance, against the closing oration as artistically extrinsic were dismissed as irresponsible aesthetic prattlers in the face of grim dangers.

It was fitting then to applaud Chaplin; it seems fitting now, without forgetting or withdrawing that applause, to point out that this is a poor film. It is a topical picture, but I know no cosmic law that says an artist may not do topical work. Inevitably, however, what is still effective in it is least topical: the early soldier sequences with their echoes of *Shoulder Arms;* the barber's dazed dance on and off the curb when he is hit on the head; the dictator's dance with the globe; the shave timed to Brahms' Hungarian Dance No. 5.

But three aspects of the film seem not so much dated as downright bad. Recently, in commenting on *City Lights,* I noted how much of it derived from the Victorian theater and how well Chaplin had integrated those elements into the film. Nine years later, dealing with a harshly 20th-Century subject, he not only failed to integrate those old-fashioned elements, he drenched their innate sweetness with syrup. Hannah (Paulette Goddard) is first heard off-stage before she appears (spirit of Sardou!); then, with a surge of violins – the score by Music Man Meredith Willson, incidentally – the camera sweeps up the stairs to light on her sweet, carefully smudged face. Hannah throughout is a character out of *The Cherry Pickers* or *Orphans of the Storm.* All the good people are Good; and when they escape, they settle on a storybook farm where they dine on an outdoor table under a grape arbor in a picture so itchily pretty that it would give Currier the Ives.

Second, the caricature of Hitler seems, much of the time, wrongly conceived. When Chaplin exaggerates what we knew and know of Hitler, and of dictators generally, it is very funny; the opening hate speech, the snatched interludes with the painter and sculptor, the contest for dominance with Bombardone. (And the scene in which Mrs. Bombardone gets trapped in the crowd is hilarious because one always felt that this was a possibility for the undistinguished Mrs. Mussolini.) But Hynkel falling downstairs after his opening speech, the desk pens that stick, Bombardone's train stopping in the wrong place when Hynkel waits to welcome it, are not funny because they do not extend fact, they run counter to it. For example, if Bombardone's train had stopped on an exact one-millimeter hairline that had been pre-set, *that* would have been caricature. These false jokes simply served at the time

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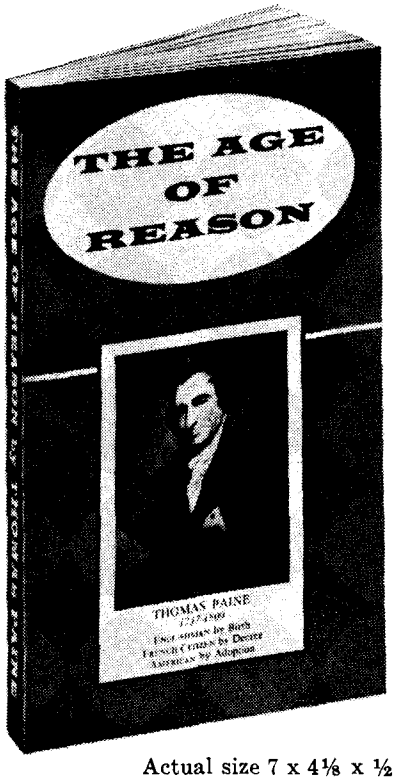

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as our outlets for frustration. We knew Hitler was not that stupid; Chaplin, on our behalf, was sticking voodoo pins in a figurine of him. Today it is not funny and it is decayed revenge.

Third, the bit players, without exception, are dreadful. I do not mean the featured players – Henry Daniell, Billy Gilbert, Jack Oakie, Reginald Gardiner – but all the three-and four-line actors. Chaplin notoriously sloughed off the direction of actors in scenes in which he was not involved (see *The Gold Rush);* here it extends even to some actors in his own scenes. And in his first full-dialogue sound film, the bad voices and readings of his supporting cast emphasize their inadequacy. This, too, seems an inheritance of the Victorian theater in which the visiting star's legendary injunction to the local stock company, when they wanted to know about the playing of a particular scene, was simply: "Stay downstage of me and six feet away."

In poetic drama it is only the literal mind that questions the romantic premise. (How could Orlando fail to recognize Rosalind?) But with works that come closer to realism, questions of reality arise. Why had no one ever noticed the barber's resemblance to Hynkel, even in the hospital? Particularly why was it not seen at once by Schultz, his former commander, now on Hynkel's staff?

The closing oration is, of course, a separate short film tacked on to the preceding feature, but Chaplin was aware of that, and, anyway, that is not what is wrong with it today. It is the content of the speech that sounds false today, because its urgencies have become the truisms of politicking, have degenerated from ideals through propaganda to mere verbiage:

"The good earth is rich and can provide for everyone.
The way of life can be free and beautiful.
But we have lost the way....
We think too much and feel too little.
More than machinery we need humanity."

Who said it? Chaplin? Or President Johnson, or Governor Rockefeller, or Premier Khrushchev, or President Nasser? This language, quite apart from whatever truth it may contain, has become international jabberwocky, a kind of "miracle fabric" that can be stretched, cut, and fitted to any politico. We have passed, in genuinely serious political thought, from an era of positive statement into one of negative statement, when the only political utterance that can be trusted is the one that is suspicious, critical, deflationary of uplift-via-helium. Chaplin ends by telling us that "the power they took from the people will return to the people" and exhorts Hannah and us to "look up." The trumpet note of 1940 has gone embarrassingly out of key because the chord behind it has changed.

Apropos of Kurosawa's latest film *High and Low,* a fine crime and detection story, I wondered what was in his mind when he made it. Now we can see *Stray Dog,* filmed in 1949 with the young Toshiro Mifune, another crime and detection story, which at least tells us that this kind of work has a history and continuity with Kurosawa. Naturally – and happily – it is not in any way as good as the more recent film; it overstates virtually every element in it. Yet it is patently the work of an exceptionally talented and intelligent director. He is even less successful here than in *High and Low* in giving valid social comment to his crime story, and the film cannot be unreservedly recommended. But for Kurosawa devotees – may their tribe increase – it has interest.

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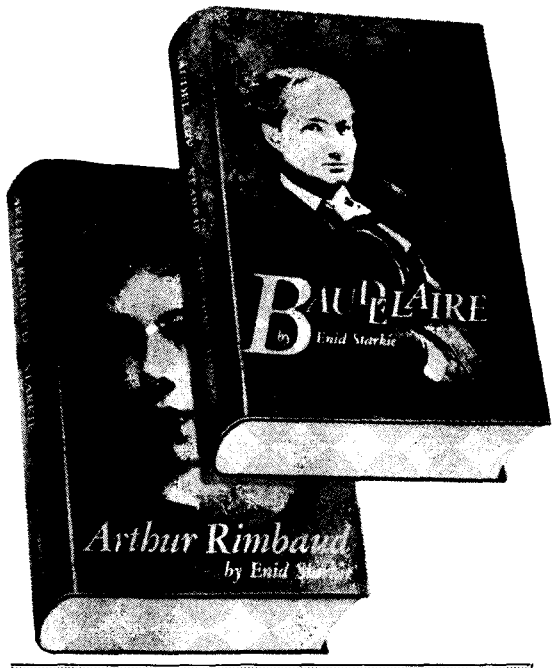

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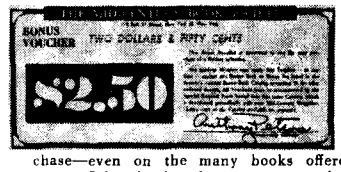

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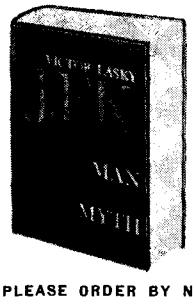

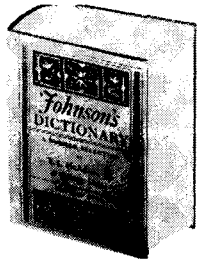

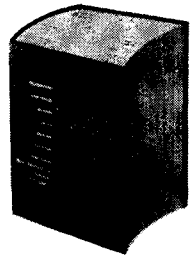

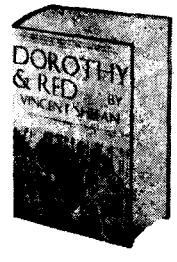

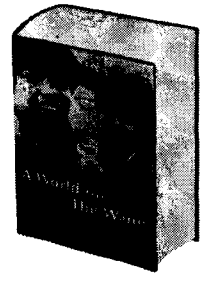

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Berlioz as a Melodist

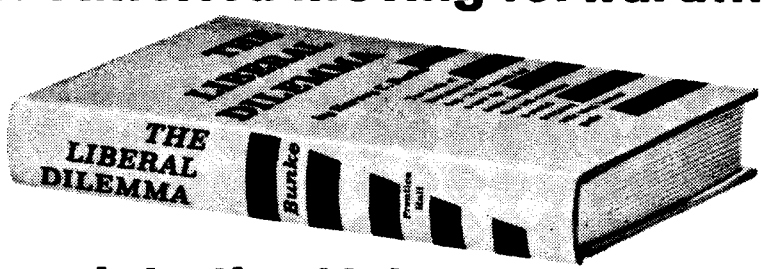
The long-accepted view of Berlioz in music histories and appreciation manuals – that he had only a gift for orchestration and used gigantic orchestras to conceal the poverty and banality of his melody and harmony – is belied by the exquisite melodic and harmonic writing and instrumental coloring of works for the normal symphonic orchestra like *Romeo and Juliet* and *Harold in Italy*. And it is belied further by the writing for the voice and a group of strings and a few winds in the six songs of *Les Nuits d'Eté*, concerning which one must say what W. J. Turner said of Mozart's Overture to *Figaro* – that their effect on the mind is out of proportion to their impingement on the senses. One must say also what Tovey said of Haydn – that while nothing is difficult to follow, almost everything is unexpected. In the song *Au Cimetière*, whose course at every point cannot be predicted but turns out to be wonderfully right, one hears the operation of a mind that is unceasingly attentive, active, creative, working with an ear, a taste, a melodic gift, a harmonic sense, a magic with the orchestra – in short with musical powers – of a most unusual and distinguished kind. If one were given nothing but this song to judge from one would have to say the man who wrote it was one of the greatest masters. And actually one is given the equally masterful *Sur les Lagunes* and the other marvelously contrived songs of the set.

The great performance of these songs, giving them overwhelming effect, has been the one on Columbia ML-4940, with Steber's opulent, grandly phrased and eloquently expressive singing in the powerfully shaped orchestral context provided by Mitropoulos with a studio group (a recent pressing I heard revealed a cut in bass that robbed the plucked bass notes of *Au Cimetière* of the power that had made them so exciting). And RCA Victor LM- and LSC-2695 now give us another great performance, with the opulent and expressive singing of Leontyne Price and the beautiful and finely reproduced playing of the Chicago Symphony under Reiner. Its flaws are the hurrying of the opening *Villanelle* and the excessive acceleration of the passage in *Sur les Lagunes* beginning with *"La colombe oubliée pleure,"* which Berlioz marks *animez très peu;* and these represent the flawed musical taste and judgment that made Reiner less than the giant he was described as in the recent obituaries. The reverse sides have Falla's *El Amor Brujo*.

Mahler's mind is like Berlioz's in its unceasingly attentive, active, purposeful and unpredictable operation with extraordinary musical powers, as one can hear in the fascinating orchestral writing that frames and supports the vocal melody in the six songs of *Das Lied von der Erde* – notably in *Der Einsame im Herbst* and *Von der Schönheit*. These are sung, on Deutsche Grammophon 18-865 and 138-865, with impressive voice, phrasing and expressiveness by the mezzo-soprano Nan Merriman; but the result of hearing them sung by the baritone Fischer-Dieskau in the earlier performance on Angel 3607 has been that I prefer his to any other singing of them – even singing as fine as Merriman's. And though the playing of the Amsterdam Concertgebouw Orchestra under Jochum in the new performance is excellent and well reproduced, I like even better the extraordinary refinement of the Philharmonia's sonorities in the earlier one. But one superiority of the new performance is Hafliger's singing of the songs for tenor.

The operation of the Mahler mind is heard again in the Symphony No. 5; but the ideas it is concerned with in the first, second and last movements are uninteresting for me. And the

Is America moving forward...



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Scherzo and Adagietto that do interest me get an italicizing treatment by Bernstein – in his performance with the New York Philharmonic on Columbia M2L-298 and M2S-698 – that is damaging even to the Scherzo and distorts the Adagietto unbearably. The fourth sides have the previously issued performance of the *Kindertotenlieder*, in which Jennie Tourel sings with her musical intelligence and taste.

Some of Handel's characteristic and engaging writing is heard in the four anthems for the coronation of George II, which are performed well, on Argo RG-369 and ZRG-5369, by the Choir of King's College, Cambridge, and the English Chamber Orchestra under David Willcocks' direction. And RG-290 (mono) has a number of Dowland's beautiful Ayres for four voices, sung well by the Golden Age Singers (excessively sharp sibilants require reduction of treble).

The Preludes and Fugues Nos. 9 to 16 from Book I of Bach's *Well-Tempered Clavier* that Glenn Gould plays on Columbia ML-5938 (mono) include a number of pieces in which I hear only exercises of craftsmanship with no interest as music; but there are exceptions: the Prelude No. 9, the Fugue No. 10, the Preludes and Fugues Nos. 12 and 16. Gould's playing has its eccentricities and perversities – the overemphasis of left-hand accompaniment material, as in the Prelude No. 10 and bars 23-24 of the Fugue No. 9; the slow tempo of the Prelude No. 12, whose flow clearly demands a more animated pace. But one marvels at the continuous tension he is able to create in the flow in this slow tempo; and for the most part the playing is superb and incomparable in its clarity of texture and the enlivening inflection that make even the dull pieces exciting to hear.

To Klemperer's recent effective performance of Tchaikovsky's Symphony No. 5 with the Philharmonia Orchestra, London CM-9376 and CS-6376 add young Lorin Maazel's performance with the Vienna Philharmonic, whose more animated pacing makes it even more effective; and some will prefer its more luxuriant recorded sound. But I prefer the refinement of the Philharmonia sonorities and their clear definition in quiet by the Angel recording.

The beautiful Philharmonia sonorities contribute to the excellence of the performances of Tchaikovsky's *Romeo and Juliet* and *Francesca da Rimini* that Giulini conducts on Angel 35980 (mono). These are early works; but in them we hear Tchaikovsky's extraordinary gifts operating with sure mastery – his gift of the imaginative and resourceful orchestral invention that in each piece establishes the dramatic atmosphere and fills in the orchestral canvas with marvelous detail; his gift of the melodic invention that in each piece produces the superb central melodic structure concerned with the love of the ill-fated pair.

The pieces for chamber orchestra and songs of Charles Ives on Cambridge 804 and 1804 are music I get no pleasure – and in most instances no sense – from; but for those who are interested I can report that Harold Faberman gets the Boston Chamber Ensemble through the instrumental complexities with amazing efficiency, and the soprano Corinne Curry and pianist Luise Vosgerchian do well with the songs.

It turned out that Victor had intended an exact reproduction of the Corbett tape of the Toscanini-Philadelphia Orchestra Schubert Ninth; and that the treble cut I reported was an accident in the tape-to-disc transfer that was not discovered because the disc was not checked by the tape. I now have a production pressing of LD-2663 – identified by the 5s stamped on the vinylite – from new metal parts, which reproduces the sound from the Corbett tape (including, unfortunately, the inexplicable gritty sound of the passage in the first-movement Allegro just before the second subject); and Victor "will be most happy to replace any of the early pressings with the later, upon receipt of the former." I am dumbfounded by my first experience of such straightforwardness on the part of a major company.

B. H. HAGGIN

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Marquis W. Childs *is a veteran Washington correspondent.* Richard M. Elman *is on the staff of a New York educational television station.* Harald Malmgren *is an economist at the Institute for Defense Analyses.*

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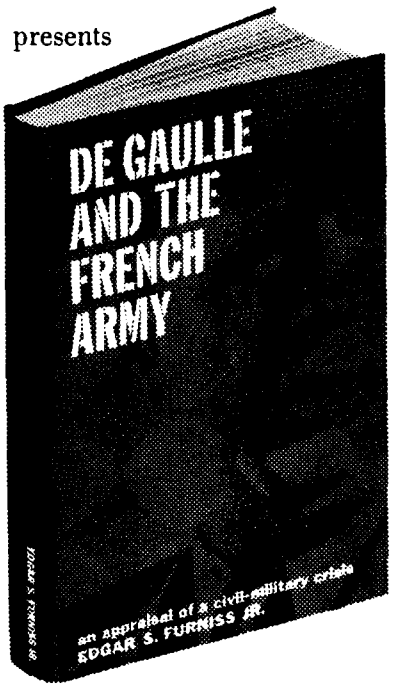

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The Later Rattner

In an essay on Goya, Aldous Huxley once called for a new classification of works of art, "The Later Works," which, by his definition, are those created in the ripest maturity by "artists who have lived without ever ceasing to learn of life." In that tiny and austere category belong the new paintings of Abraham Rattner, now to be seen at the Downtown Gallery, in New York City.

Like many long-time admirers of Rattner's painting, I had never expected to see further growth in a visual reality I was completely happy with the way it was. I went to the current exhibition with the pleasant anticipation of seeing, for the first time in several years, a new group of paintings in a style to which I was thoroughly accustomed and with which I was most comfortable. Instead I found a new Rattner, one of greater richness and sonority in color, of increased abstraction in his artistic language, of profundity yet deepened by the passing of time and by intense occupation with his calling. Yet the change, the new level of spiritual achievement, was one, in retrospect, quite predictable from what went before. As with so many startling developments, we can see after it has happened all the indications we missed beforehand but which were there all the time.

Rattner's now predictable progress is even more obvious, looking back, because it can be related to sheer geography. Born in Poughkeepsie, Rattner went to France as a camouflage sergeant, a pioneer participant in that new art of war which Picasso, in that same war, had seen passing by in Paris and recognized as his own. There was indeed an affinity and Rattner became one of that inter-war generation of Americans in Paris, profiting greatly from Picasso but also sensitively aware of what the ancient Monet was up to in his water gardens at Giverny, where the young Rattner used to hide in the shrubbery to watch the last of the Impressionists at work. Between the wars, Rattner in Paris brought to perfection a kind of cubist expressionism, in paintings of people shattered as they might be in prisms and colored with such tones as also come out of faceted glass. Leaving Paris before the Germans got there, he arrived in his native land, accompanied by his friend, Henry Miller, minus a vast amount of work which has never been recovered.

He set about reintroducing himself to America, a process which began, perhaps, with a motor trip with Miller resulting in a curious account written by Miller, illustrated by Rattner, but which went on to include art teaching at the New School as what was to be called the New American Painting was shaping up in New York and, in almost the entire decade of the fifties, at two of the great midwestern state universities and out on Long Island. For almost another two full decades a Rattner already mature as a painter immersed himself in the American experience of his childhood, now living in the urban throb, now in the midwestern prairie. It had a great effect on the French elegance and precision. He painted farm implements, for example, with a raw, rough texture that was all new and different from the handful of domestic objects that, placed on a table top, made a still life in France. He was clearly struck, as were so many before him, by the unending spaces of the American plains. He painted numerous variants of Prairie Landscapes and Prairie Skies. The paint becomes thick, as if laid on with trowels. The colors, too, are raw, of the earth or of the vulgar American sunsets, not trained, not refined, not modest nor elegant, but throbbing with light and life. From the mid-fifties on, Rattner moved from the raw shock of the American landscape to the same qualities evoked by, for and in the prophets and moments of his birthright Judaism. Rattner's father had been a Rabbinical student in Russia and the painter, who had often rendered scenes of Christian piety as part of his general European consciousness, now remembered Israel and his right

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hand acquired a new strength, a new eloquence. From the coarse textures of the prairie land, from the raw burning of the prairie sky, Abraham Rattner fashioned a desert for Moses and his guides of cloud and fire, for Moses and the bush springing into flame and into Hebrew letters of admonition, for the prophet preaching to the dry bones in the valley.

As the decade neared its close, Rattner certainly seemed to have done all that was necessary to make a permanent place for himself in American art of our century. From the point of view of the art history of which we never tire these days, he had created a viable and personal synthesis of the French experience between the wars, the American experience since. From the point of view of the enhancing of life, to which we pay all too little attention, Rattner had added a great dimension in relating recent languages of paint to the eternal American space and in bringing that together with the eternal Judaism of which we are all the debtors. His total achievement was one approached by very few Americans of his time.

Now he has gone further. Four or five years ago he returned to Paris for a period of work and the new exhibition is about a dozen and a half paintings from those years in a Paris revisited. The revisitation is more than personal chronology. From the days of the camouflage sergeant turned art student, Rattner's art has struck and maintained an ever-changing balance between his two countries, France and America. Now France is brought newly to the fore, but the experience of America is not forgotten. Old themes reappear and the old mastery of both color and texture, yet everything is fresh made. The paintings, many of them, are bigger than before. The thick textured paint now is used to define a figure, or part of a figure afloat on an infinitely resonant sea of rich but physically thin color. Thick and thin together create a new speech that was beyond the imagination in the earlier works. On close examination, the thicknesses are but blobs of pigment, intricately worked and varicolored, yet resembling nothing. Seen in the thin seas of rich dark color, blues and greens, browns and blacks, the blobs are figures again, those of gargoyles on Paris churches, of Christ on the cross, or presented to the people by Pilate, of two Jews standing for six million. Ezekiel still cries out to the bones, a dove once more is seen in white light above a hundred reaching hands, both old images of the painter, but now the further refinement, the deeper contemplation that are the marks of those who live without ever ceasing to learn, these things inform the pictures in every stroke of paint.

Only partly because of the overt subject matter of some of the pictures, mostly because of the artist, Abraham Rattner's new works create a holy place around them. We are the richer because an American artist approaching 70 has grown every month of the way.

FRANK GETLEIN

Correspondence

Cops with Guns

Sirs:

May I make these observations concerning Lew Petterson's "Cops with Guns" (March 14)?

In the cab robbery incident certain facts remain clear: the man shot was *in fact* committing a robbery and did *in fact* have a weapon and flee from the police. The gun may have been only a "realistic toy pistol" and the amount stolen a mere $25, but I would like to remind Mr. Petterson that many serious crimes have been committed against citizens where innocent toy pistols have been the chief fear inducers: and too many of my fellow citizens of New York have been killed in the past for much less than $25. Perhaps the police should have let the men escape to "perhaps" commit further crimes against innocent citizens. Perhaps they should have wished the cabdriver (a member of what is undoubtedly the most mugging-prone group in the country) better luck next time.

I myself saw and heard the accomplice of our "Boy of the Year" describe, on television to a TV newscaster the day Frank died, how he and Frank were in fact high from drinking wine, how they

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did in fact start the fight, and how Frank did have a knife. As Mr. Petterson says, the knife was "only" a small one, not a "shiv"; but Frank *did* slash at the policeman, and, as even Mr. Petterson knows, it makes no difference to the victim whether he is killed with a small knife or with a big one. Perhaps Frank, our "Boy of the Year," only meant to cut him just a "little" and not kill the officer. Perhaps the officer should have taken more time to ascertain the depth of Frank's intention, and let him flee in safety, knife in hand, again "perhaps" to kill some unsuspecting citizen who stood in his way. (Perhaps Mr. Petterson, himself, innocently strolling on 92nd Street could conceivably have come up against poor Frank, fleeing in fear, with his "little" knife in his hand.)

Mr. Petterson suggests that a policeman guilty of using his gun should be subject to a formal hearing (an inconvenient one) in order to put a damper on indiscriminate shooting. Mr. Petterson obviously didn't do his homework when he prepared his article. He should have taken the trouble to find out what happens to a policeman in New York when he fires his gun at anyone.

"After all," he finally states, "the recent anti-police demonstrations in Harlem didn't come about just because the residents don't like the looks of blue uniforms." May I suggest that this is in *fact* the reason for recent anti-police activity in Central Harlem and in East Harlem. The uniform is symbolic of the "fuzz" – the "fuzz" which arrests narcotics pushers, breaks up numbers banks, prevents teen-age murder and mayhem to a certain degree, and which is the implacable foe of those who would manhandle, mug, or murder the innocent of our city.

P. O'Grady
New York City

Presidential Succession

Sirs:

I read with considerable interest your proposal on Presidential succession (March 7). If, indeed, there is anything in the purist's objection (Humphrey, Church, Bayh, and the *New York Times*) that Congress cannot elect a new "Vice President" without a constitutional amendment, this difficulty can easily be solved. Instead Congress could decide to elect a "Vice President Designate" and change the law of succession so that if a President dies in office when the "Vice Presidency" is vacant the "Vice President Designate" would become President. It might be objected that the watered-down title would depreciate the prestige of the office or that the President would be less willing to take a "Vice President Designate" into his confidence. It seems, however, that this would only reflect an almost inevitable handicap that a replacement Vice President would have regardless of what he is called.

Henry Bass
New York

Catholics and Contraception

Sirs:

The reaction of TRB to the Louis Harris poll concerning the attitude of Catholics to their Church's teaching on contraceptives requires some comment. It should be pointed out that the question posed by the Harris poll was poorly directed. A more meaningful question might have been not how many Catholics would *like* the Church's interpretation changed, but rather how many *expected* it to be changed within the predictable future. Dr. Rock in the book which TRB quoted states clearly: "The truth is there is little likelihood in the immediate future of doctrinal agreement within the limits of family planning now available."

TRB's source of hope for doctrinal

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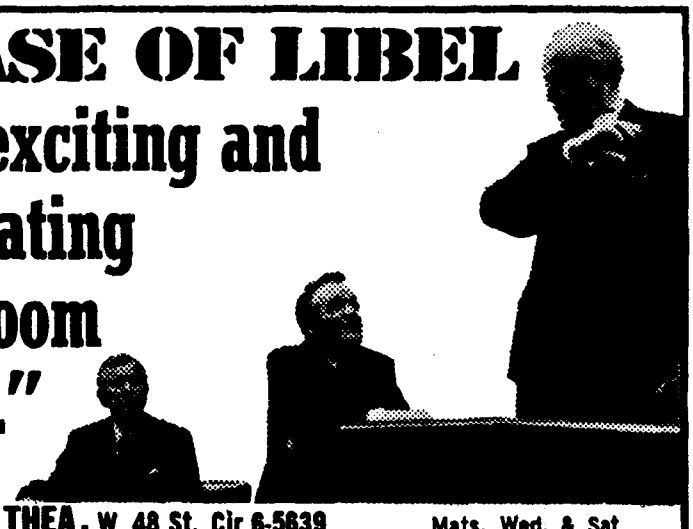

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changes appears to be the Papal condemnation of interest on loans, a condemnation made five centuries before the birth of modern economics. I suggest rather that expectations for the future should be based on the situation as it is now. The type of doctrinal change hoped for by TRB comes not from a poll of "rank-and-file Catholics," but from the Pope only, as a climax to long discussions among moral theologians. Yet Dr. Rock admits that Catholic moralists show no more than "gossamer signs" of changing attitudes on contraceptives. May we avoid sterile and offensive pressures for adoption of someone else's beliefs, and proceed to address the central problem: population control and economic resources?

Surely the question of agreeable means for population control is close to solution through scientific research. As this particular dispute becomes assigned to the history books let us hope that it leaves us with one important legacy: how not to resolve ethical differences.

Thomas P. Fondy
Waltham, Mass.

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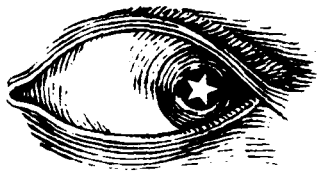
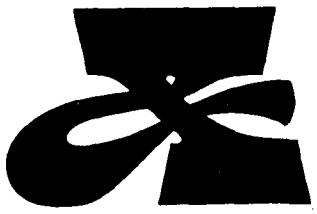
Who is Marvin Kitman?



What are his qualifications? Kitman is News Managing Editor of *Monocle*. He did such a good job managing the news at *Monocle* that we thought he deserved a shot at the White House. Besides, his wife has a cloth coat, he has 2.7 children and he is the only *Monocle* editor who will be 35 by election day.

WHAT

What about Cuba?
Kitman plans to investigate Democratic bungling over Cuba. In 1853 Pres. Franklin Pierce had a chance to buy Cuba for $8 million. False economy has got us where we are today.



What issues does Kitman plan to raise?
He would prefer not to drag issues into the campaign. He wants to campaign strictly on personality because his friends tell him he has a winning personality. Also, he thinks raising issues is hypocritical. But if anyone raises the religious issue he will point out he's twice as Jewish as Goldwater.

WHAT

What does *Monocle* think about the other candidates? In our current issue we predict who *The New Yorker, Holiday, Reader's Digest, National Review* and other family magazines will support. For instance, according to *Monocle, Time* will have this to say:

"One day last summer Clare Luce, nymphet-svelte in a rhinestone-studded chainmail bikini, dipped a tentative toe in the water while Henry Luce watched at poolside. 'Goddam it, Clare,' said Henry, 'Stop diddling and jump the hell in.' No diddler she, Clare jumped. Tuesday last, Clare took the plunge again, announced at a press conference attended by 942 former *Time* cover subjects she would seek the Republican Presidential nomination."

WHAT

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